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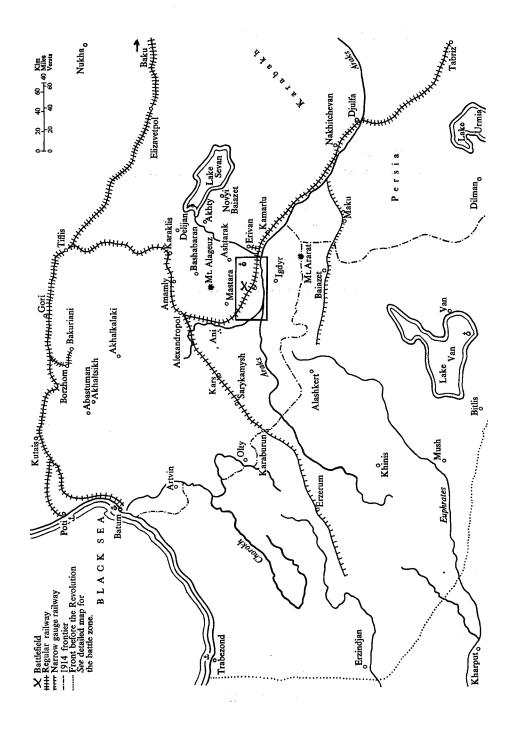
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THE BATTLE OF SARDARABAD

by

JACQUES KAYALOFF

1973 MOUTON

THE HAGUE · PARIS

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Ulam da fa haan sa baad

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ERRATA

Page 14 n.8 read 1855 instead of 1885
" " n.9 " 1866 " " 1886
" 73 first line read Gerasimovich
i/o Efimovich

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The 96-year old Georgii Ivanovich Kvinitadze graciously answered my inquiry a few weeks before his death.

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May, 1971 J. K.

PREFACE

"A good historian belongs to no age nor to any country." Fénelon¹

On May 23, 1918 the Armenian troops defeated superior Turkish forces advancing toward Erivan. This victory on the threshold of Echmiadzin saved the heart of Armenia from conquest.

This study is an attempt to recreate the episode.

¹ Fénelon's letter to André Dacier of 1714.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	5
Preface	7
List of Maps	0
List of Appendices	1
I. On the eve of the battle	3
II. Military data	0
III. Witnesses' accounts	2
IV. Fragmentary data	6
V. Tactics and logistics	6
VI. Diverse interpretations	0
VII. Ways and means	9
Epilogue	8
Selected bibliography:	
I. Unpublished documents	1
II. Books	2
III. Articles	6
IV. General reference publications	6
V. Newspapers 8	7
Appendices	9
Index	3

LIST OF MAPS

General map of the area (Frontispiece)	
Turkish Penetration mid-May, 1918	17
Environments of Sardarabad	18
Situation on May 20 according to Chnéour's Sketch	42
Situation in the evening of May 22 according to Chnéour's Sketch	43
Situation in the afternoon of May 23 according to Chnéour's Sketch	44

LIST OF APPENDICES

- A. Note on the formation of the Armenian units of December 20, 1917 o.s. entitled Ocherk razvitiia voprosa o razvertyvanii armianskikh vooruzhenykh sil v Petrograde v 1917 godu [Survey of the developments in the matter concerning the formation of the Armenian armed forces in Petrograd in 1917].
- B. The terms of the armistice on the Caucasian front concluded December 5 o.s. /18, 1917.
- C. The Journal of the Armenian Corps from December 1, 1917 o.s. to August 1, 1918 (An abbreviated copy made and certified by A. I. Koulébiakine).
- D. Report of Lieutenant-General F. Nazarbekoff about the participation of the Armenians in the war of 1914-1918 and dated February 14, 1919.
- E. Letter of General A. Koulébiakine to M. I. Papadjanov of April 28, 1919.
- F. The Bulletin of the Soviet Representative in Batum, Comrade Zvereff, dated October 25, 1920.
- G. Pages 98-102 of the second notebook of A. K. Chnéour with his memoirs.
- H. Pages 88-93 of Arménien by K. Zorian
- I. Pages 10-19 of the manuscript note by B. V. Eghiazaroff de Nork with his personal recollections.
- J. Letter of G. G. Yablokoff to the author of October 12, 1970.
- K. Table of Army Ranks.
- L. Table of geographical names modified since 1918.
- M. Method of transliteration.

ON THE EVE OF THE BATTLE

Within a few months after the October Revolution, the Russian forces withdrew from their advanced positions in Anatolia and the Caucasian front was left virtually unprotected. By March, 1918, the Turkish Army regained all its former territories and reached the pre-war Russian frontier. The only resistance it met on its way was from a few Armenian volunteer units under GS Colonel Morel. About 300 Russian officers of non-Armenian origin had thrown in their lot with the defenders.

The newly formed Transcaucasian autonomous government, headed by the Georgian Mensheviks, placed the command of the troops in the hands of General E. V. Lebedinskii whose orders were often lost in the maze of political maneuvering.⁴ Though the Turks did not show any intention of stopping at the pre-war boundaries, the Georgian leaders

Unless otherwise stated, all dates are according to the Gregorian calendar, introduced in Transcaucasia in April, 1918.

All geographical names are those of 1918. Their current counterparts are given in appendix L.

In 1918, the records of the Armenian Corps were kept in Russian, the Armenian family names were generally given in a Russified version and the Christian names were often translated. This practice was maintained throughout this study, except in quotations where the original version is given.

All officers who graduated from the General Staff Academy in Petrograd carried the marking "of the General Staff" attached to their rank, abbreviated in this study with the initials GS.

Appendix K gives the corresponding ranks in Russian, Armenian and British armies. The method of transliterating foreign words is indicated in appendix M.

- Before World War I, Morel was the Russian military attaché in Tokyo. Late in 1918, he joined Denikin's forces and was killed in Askania Nova, Ukraine, in July, 1920. In A. Koulébiakine's correspondence of 1919 Morel is referred to as Major-General.
- ³ This battalion was commanded by Colonel Vladimir Efremoff. In the late Forties he lived in Paris with his two sisters.
- ⁴ E. V. Lebedinskii succeeded the aged General Przhevalskii as Commander in Chief of the Caucasian Army on January 5 o.s. /18, 1918. However, the official transfer of the command took place only on February 1 o.s. /14, 1918.

heavily relied on the peace negotiations carried on with General Ferik Vehip Mehmet, the Turkish Commander in Chief,⁵ a diplomatic exchange which had obviously not much effect on the front activities.

Despite bad weather and hampered by defective communications, the Turkish troops under Yakup Sevki Pasha⁶ continued the general advance and captured huge stores and material abandoned by the Russian Army. The Ottoman Command was inspired by Enver Pasha's Pan-Turanian aspirations, and their troops continued to advance, in obvious disregard of the armistice arrangements and of the Brest Litovsk convenant.⁷

After the surrender of Kars on April 25, 1918 and the fall of Alexandropol on May 15, 1918, the 36th and 5th Caucasian Divisions of the Turkish forces concentrated their efforts on the Karaklis front where Lieutenant-General Foma Ivanovich Nazarbekoff, the Commander of the Armenian Corps, 8 tried to block the Turks and to protect the direct route to Tiflis.

At first the Turks succeeded in breaking Nazarbekoff's stand at Karaklis. Absence of reserves, scarcity of munitions, lack of support either from Andranik⁹ or from the headquarters in Tiflis and the numerical superiority of the Turks (Vehip Pasha dispatched the 9th Caucasian Division to cover the losses sustained by the 5th and 36th Caucasian Divisions) were among the factors that forced Nazarbekoff to withdraw

- ⁵ Better known as Vehip Pasha (1877-1940). He was of Albanian origin. Both he and his brother, Esat Pasha, were natives of Yanina, where their father Mehmet Emin Efendi was mayor. After the Mudros Armistice Vehip Pasha was interned by the Italians but released later in 1923. He ended his career as the Chief of Staff of Ras Desta during the Italo-Ethiopian campaign.
- ⁶ Some historians maintain that Colonel Kazim Karabekir was already in charge of this sector in the spring of 1918. In any case, in June, 1918, Yakup Sevki Pasha became the commander of a large army unit intended for the invasion of Persian Azerbaidjan. In 1920 he rallied to Kemal and assumed an important military position.
- ⁷ Enver Pasha (1881-1922) left Constantinople in November, 1918, and reached Berlin via the Crimea, then still occupied by the German Army. In December, 1921, he visited Tiflis. Next August he was killed in a skirmish in Bukhara.
- Nazarbekoff (decorated with the Cross and Saber of St. George), born August 4, 1865, died in Tbilisi on February 13, 1931.
 - ⁹ Andranik (Ozanian), born in 1866, died in Fresno, California on August 30, 1927. He lies buried at Père-Lachaise, Paris. In 1970 Marshal I. Kh. Bagramian visited his grave. Andranik's memoirs, which he dictated to an aide, were published in Armenian in Boston in 1921, by AZG.

Their contents will be referred to in Chapter IV.

Biographies of Andranik were written by Hayagan Arhanstian Andranik (Boston 1921) and by Varges Aharonian Andranik, mardə ev razmikə [Andranik, the Man and the Warrior] (Boston, 1957).

1866

from Karaklis. But near Nikitino, about ten miles west from Delijan, Nazarbekoff was able to halt the Turkish advance and to establish a new line of defense.

Parallel with the events at Karaklis three other Turkish divisions were operating in the Erivan sector. The 12th Infantry Division crossed the divide between the Alashkert Valley and the Araks watershed and occupied Igdir. The two other divisions, the 3rd and the 11th Caucasian Divisions, diverted to the same direction, followed the main highway from Alexandropol to Erivan and the railroad line to Djulfa. Of these the 3rd Division seized Bashabaran and approached Ashtarak, while the 11th Division of Cavit Bey moved alongside the railroad track and reached the plain of Ararat. The right flank of this division had the support of the irregular cavalry made up of Kurds.

In face of the 12th Infantry Division, advancing from Igdir, two regiments of volunteers from the Van district, assisted by local villagers, were to defend the southern approaches to Erivan. In the Bashabaran sector the 3rd Turkish Division confronted the unit of Dro. 10 An old revolutionary, Dro was respected by the professional officers for his fearlessness and quick wit. He had at his disposal a cavalry detachment, half of the 6th Rifle Regiment, one battery and a thousand partisans who were experienced sharpshooters. This modest force succeeded in halting the Turks in a gorge halfway between Bashabaran and Ashtarak, about thirty miles from Erivan.

In the meantime the peace negotiations with Vehip Pasha progressed at a very slow pace. The Turks, who were well aware of the fact that their German Allies did not share their grandiose plans for the Caucasus, missed no opportunity to gain ground and to promote their own cause whenever possible while the bargaining went on at the conference table in Batum.

By mid-May, 1918, only a small triangle in the Province of Erivan remained unconquered by the Turks, a territory comprising the city of Erivan, founded before the Christian era; Echmiadzin, the seat of the Catholicos, with two famous churches, St. Hrip'simē and St. Gayanē, from the seventh century; Delijan, a summer resort high up in the mountains; Lake Sevan, 6,200 feet above sea level; and Novyi Baiazet, a humble settlement but the birthplace of many outstanding Armenians. The whole area was filled with refugees who had fled from the surrendered

¹⁰ Dro (Kanayan) was a native of Igdir. He was seriously wounded at the front in 1914. His biography is yet to be written,

territories. At the same time, the Azerbaidjanians were being stirred up by Turkish emissaries in the rear, which made the situation even more critical.

After Nazarbekoff's setback at Karaklis, the weight of events shifted to the Erivan region, and it was here that the decisive engagement of the campaign finally had to take place. Erivan's defense was entrusted to Major-General Moisei Silikoff.¹¹ His Chief of Staff was GS Colonel Vekhilov.¹² Colonel K. Araratoff,¹³ whose 2nd Artillery Brigade was dispersed to different places between Ashtarak, Echmiadzin, Sardarabad and Parakar, was also with them, while Colonel Kartashisheff was placed by Silikoff in command of the 3rd Armenian Regiment assigned to the Persian frontier.

The main attention of the regional command was at this point directed at the group defending the approach to Erivan along the railroad from Alexandropol to Djulfa. First, to avoid its being outflanked, the avantgarde was withdrawn from the stations of Ani and of Araks. It joined the main forces in the vicinity of the village of Sardarabad (a former Persian fortress captured by the Russian Army on September 20 o.s., 1827). Reorganized and reinforced, this unit established a front line from just west of Echmiadzin to the railroad station of Sardarabad.

Major-General Daniil Bek Pirumov was assigned to the command of the group gathered around Sardarabad, of which his cousin, Colonel Pavel Bek Pirumov, the commander of the 5th Armenian Rifle Regiment, was the senior officer. A strict disciplinarian yet popular among his men, and a brave officer, Pavel Bek Pirumov preserved his regiment during the bitter retreat from Lake Van and Lake Urmia. He had the reputation of being a cautious man. In contrast, his cousin Daniil was renowned for his daring. In 1916 Daniil Bek Pirumov, then the commander of the 153rd Bakinskii Infantry Regiment, seized Dalan Gez, the first Erzerum fort then to fall to the Russians, in a surprise night-attack in freezing

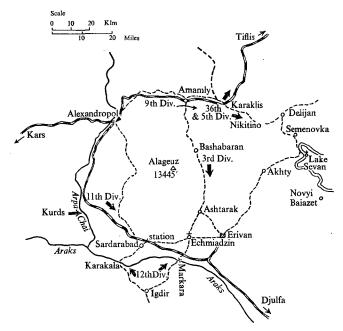
¹¹ In January, 1921, Silikoff was deported to Riazan, but returned later to Erevan. Silikoff is not a name of Armenian origin; it could indicate that his ancestors were in the silk trade: his home town was one of the centers of sericulture. Two nephews of Silikoff were murdered in Zangezur in 1919.

¹² In 1918 three Vekhilovs of Armenian origin were prominent officers in the Caucasian Army. One of them, a Colonel of Cavalry, was killed by a stray bullet at the front. The other, a Lieutenant-Colonel, commanded a battery in Kars in November, 1920. The third Vekhilov, a GS Colonel, was the Chief of Staff of Silikoff.

¹⁸ He was an artillery expert; he was attached to the Rumanian Army before his transfer to the Caucasus. In June, 1918, he was promoted to Major-General.

¹⁴ Besides Daniil and his cousin Pavel there was also Iosif Bek Pirumov, a Colonel of Cavalry. In 1920 he commanded the Erivan garrison. Iosif was shot in 1921.

¹⁵ French military historians call it "Dolan Gèré".



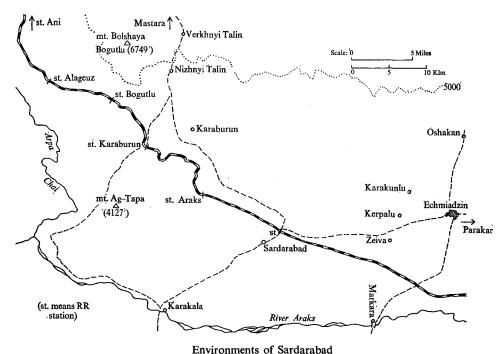
Turkish penetration mid-May, 1918.

weather. In the following days (February 12-14, 1916) the Turks tried desperately to recapture the lost stronghold. But all the attempts failed and from then on the fate of the fortress was sealed. The bravery of Daniil Bek Pirumov is vividly described by E. V. Maslovskii in his well documented book about the military operations on the Turkish front from 1914 to 1917.¹⁶

The position of chief of staff of the Sardarabad group was entrusted to GS Captain Alexander Konstantinovich Chnéour, an excellent choice from among several candidates with good qualifications and seniority.¹⁷ In a series of engagements around Kars, Chnéour distinguished himself through his daring counter-attacks at Berna on April 17, 1918, and the

¹⁶ E. V. Maslovskii, *Mirovaia voina na Kavkazskom fronte*, 1914-1917 [World War on the Caucasian Front, 1914-1917] (Paris, Renaissance, 1933), pp. 275-295. Following the custom of the Russian Army, Maslovskii omitted all initials between the rank and the family name, which leads to confusion in many instances.

¹⁷ His posluzhnoi spisok, 'service record', indicates April 19, 1918, as the date of his promotion to Lieutenant-Colonel. However, even afterwards he was referred to as Captain for a while.



skillful handling of his troops in general.¹⁸ It is of great credit to the Armenian Command that it gave full recognition to A. K. Chnéour and his outstanding qualities regardless of his brother's, Lieutenant Vladimir Schneur's, activities which were unveiled in the Petrograd trial of mid-February, 1918.¹⁹

According to the data gathered from various sources the troops, assembled in the area of the station of Sardarabad, included two Armenian Rifle Regiments (the entire 5th, half of the 6th and one battalion of the 4th), three to four field batteries consisting in all of twelve to sixteen guns, several mounted companies, probably 500 sabers in all (including the Zeitun Cavalry Regiment under Colonel Salibekoff and

¹⁸ In one of these engagements, an army nurse, Ekaterina Martynovna Sikorskaia, brought him the badly needed munitions under severe enemy fire. She eventually became his wife. In the Fifties she was still a resident of Erevan.

¹⁹ Le Journal de Russie, the French daily of Petrograd, carried an account of the trial in its Thursday issues, February 1 o.s./14,1918. Lieutenant Vladimir Schneur was sent by Trotski as a truce envoy to the German lines. After the press disclosed his past affiliations with Okhrana (Tzarist secret police) Krylenko prosecuted him for concealing it. According to his relatives he died in a concentration camp near Archangelsk (Solovki).

the Erzindjan Regiment, incorporating the remains of the Khinis Regiment commanded by Captain Hassan Pashaian), and two battalions of partisans whose strength is not known but would hardly have exceeded a thousand men altogether. ²⁰ A portable wireless outfit manned by students tried to maintain some, even if only sporadic, contact with Nazarbekoff's headquarters in Delijan. All in all, the total strength of the group could hardly have reached the figure of 6,000 men, an estimate often referred to by the chroniclers of the Battle of Sardarabad.

In the rear the 1st and 2nd Van Regiments, with the help of the inhabitants of Karakala and Markara, guarded the two crossings over the Araks.²¹

Several detachments were placed in front of Echmiadzin. However, they participated only in some subsequent engagements and not in the fighting of May 22-24 itself.

During these three fateful days, for some reason of their own, the Turkish 12th Infantry Division remained inactive in Igdir, and Silikoff, taking advantage of this unexpected circumstance, withdrew the Van Regiments to other sectors.

Thus the commanding officers in the Silikoff headquarters in Echmiadzin, using their best judgement, tried to concentrate their seasoned troops into the area which was most likely to become the scene of the inevitable, final showdown.

²⁰ William E. D. Allen and Pavel Pavlovich Muratoff, Caucasian Battlefields (Cambridge University Press, 1953), p. 475 n. 1

²¹ The two bridges over the Araks had been blown up, probably by Daniil Bek Pirumov's column, on May 20-21, 1918.

MILITARY DATA

On May 15, 1918, after the fall of Alexandropol to the Turks, the rail connection between Erivan and Tiflis was cut off. A week later, on May 22nd, the withdrawal from Karaklis also severed the wire communications with the capital of Transcaucasia. In May, 1918, Erivan was a forlorn provincial town; there was no regular daily newspaper to serve the community and not a single Occidental to be seen in the streets at that time. The main thoroughfare, the dusty Astafievskaia (now known as Abovian Street), looked deserted. Even the horse-drawn trolley had ceased operating.

Earlier that month an endless column of refugees, coming from Alash-kert Valley and from the Van region, had crossed the town. Their number had exceeded 300,000 persons. They were exhausted and, covered by the clouds of dust raised by their squeaking carts and their cattle, they had made a truly pitiful sight. Their retreat to the mountain region closer to Lake Sevan then stirred up a great deal of nervousness among the town population. Though on May 16 and 17 there were wild rumors circulating in Erivan, they did not provoke any exodus of officials or evacuation of the population. Indeed, during the following days not only did the tension abate but it lessened to such an extent that during the fateful days of Sardarabad Erivan remained unduly calm. The banks and post office opened as on any other day although in the latter the stamp supply was long since exhausted. Even the movie house continued to show one of the time's drab silent films. May 23rd itself went by without any marked event: the young recruits had their regular drills in the yard of the

¹ Among the Van refugees was Vosdanig Manoog Adoian (1905-1948) later known as Arshile Gorky, the American abstract painter (Julien Levy, *Arshile Gorky*, New York, Abrams, 1968).

² There were two films left in Erivan which were run in succession. The accompanist knew only three tunes which he played in rotation.

artillery barracks and no new bills were posted on the walls, not even in the front of the Town Hall. That day no news arrived from the front, not even very late at night. Contrary to some of the more colorful descriptions, no church bells rang that day, neither to call for volunteers nor, later, to celebrate the victory.

Yet this does not mean that Erivan was completely without a newspaper throughout the whole time. A group of Van refugees published the Ashxatank' [Labor], a daily newspaper by intent but forced by circumstances to appear irregularly. It seems certain that the issue of May 19, 1918, was followed only by an issue printed on May 26th and one on May 29th.³

In our era of advanced satellite mass communication it is difficult to imagine how it was possible for a territory with a population, refugees included, of over 750,000 persons to be cut off not only from the outside world, but even from regular local-scale communication among themselves. To understand it one has to realize that less than a dozen passenger automobiles and trucks were left in the region and even these few cars were sparsely used because the stores were running low on gasoline. The liaison detachment of the 2nd Artillery Brigade had hardly enough equipment to maintain a link between advanced positions and their command posts. It was impossible to establish connections between the headquarters and the front line other than by telegraph wires. But these lines crossed Zangibazar, a narrow strip of Muslim villages, and were indeed often disrupted. These circumstances would account for the absence of regular communiqués as well as for the paucity of army records about the operations. On May 23rd the headquarters of Nazarbekoff were in Delijan, and, as late as the morning of May 24th, his Chief of Staff, GS Major-General Vyshinskii, 4 assembled the officers of non-Armenian origin and told them that, in view of the desperate situation, he felt obliged to give them their freedom of action. But in a couple of hours the gloom disappeared as if by magic. The first news of the victory at Sardarabad reached Nazarbekoff at 11 a.m. on May 24th!5

³ The rare copies of *Ashxatank* exist in the Erevan State Library in the Memory of Alexander Feodorovich Miasnikian.

⁴ According to one of his former colleagues, Vyshinskii died of cholera in Tiflis, soon after his return from Armenia.

⁵ Bogdan V. Eghiazaroff de Nork, "Reminiscences" (unpublished); facsimile of the reminiscences is partially reproduced in appendix I.

Recently de Nork retired in Paris after an outstanding career in the Army of the Allies, followed by work promoting French publications abroad.

The brief entries in the Journal of the Armenian Corps⁶ dealing with the operations in the Sardarabad zone are as follows:

...Gen. Silikoff reports: May 21, about 5 p.m. a battle started at Sardar-Abad close to the railroad line to Erivan. The Sardar-Abad group withdrew to the line Kara-Konlu, Kerpalu and Armenian Zeiva. In the Igdir sector Armenian forces secured the crossings over the Araks maintaining cavalry in front of Markara.

May 23... Gen. Silikoff reports: his advance toward Sardar-Abad so far is, indeed, successful.

May 24 in the Erivan sector — a success at Sardar-Abad and a pursuit of the adversary along Alageuz and the railroad. Large enemy formations move toward Sardar-Abad and Araks. Dro's detachment has reached Ali-Kochak. The 3rd Turkish Division is proceeding through Bash-Abaran-Ashtarak. Dro is reinforced. It is ascertained that the 108th Turkish Regiment was the one engaged against Sardar-Abad; Armenian losses were not large. Gen. Silikoff reports improvement of the soldiers' morale in consequence of the success: deserters return in masses with arms and munitions, soldiers hasten to advance. A proof that a few additional similar successes could restore the fighting power of the troops.

May 25 ... In the Erivan sector skirmishes near Markara... In the direction of Erivan, after the victory at Sardar-Abad, contact with the enemy continues. In Sardar-Abad in the pocket of a dead Turkish officer a draft of a report was found which indicates that 3,000 Turkish infantrymen took part in the engagement of May 21...

May 27 ... In the direction of Erivan the Turks started the withdrawal from the station of Araks in the region of Sardar-Abad. The Armenians took the offensive on the entire front.

May 29 ... In the Sardar-Abad sector the railroad station of Alageuz has been occupied. The 1st and 2nd Van Regiments have been directed from Erivan to Semenovka.

May 30 ... May 29th the settlements of North Talin and the railroad station of Karaburun have been occupied in the Sardar-Abad sector, while reconnaissance parties are in Alageuz and Mostara.

After the reoccupation of Karaklis by the Turks, Nazarbekoff moved his headquarters to Akhty, closer to Erivan. On his way to the troops on the battlefields, where he went to decorate the heroes, he rode through the streets of Erivan on May 30th.

In his report⁷ to the Armenian Government, dated February 14, 1919 and dealing with the role of the Armenian troops in the campaign of 1914-1918, Nazarbekoff made only the following brief references to

⁶ Pp. 19-22, this author's translation. The entire manuscript is reproduced in appendix C.

⁷ P. 12, this author's translation. The entire manuscript is reproduced in appendix D.

Sardarabad: "The fighting began on the entire front, but principally at three points: near Karaklis, Basha-Baran and Sardar-Abad. There, intense battles continued with fluctuating results, but with substantial successes particularly in the last two." From the available data it is clear that for one reason or another the victory at Sardarabad was toned down in Nazarbekoff's report. Until his death Nazarbekoff was obsessed by the memory of the surrender of Kars, due mostly to the duplicity of Vehip Pasha and to poor judgement on the part of the Transcaucasian Government. In April, 1921, when Nazarbekoff was released from Butyrki⁸ in Moscow, the loss of Kars was the main theme of his conversation with friends visiting him in the private clinic of Professor Rassalimov. The fall of the fortress for which the Russian Army fought hard in the 19th century and the name of which is linked to so many Armenian heroes like Loris-Melikov and Ter Gukasoff, left a deep scar in Nazarbekoff's mind, a scar no amount of time could have healed except, perhaps, the reintegration of Kars with his beloved motherland. Later in 1921, he returned to Tiflis where he died on February 19, 1931. In the last years of his life, worn out and broken, Nazarbekoff had to be cared for by his friends; indeed, he was in too poor a physical condition to be able to give a clear account of his own recollections of the Armeno-Turkish War.

In 1927 La participation des Arméniens à la guerre mondiale sur le front du Caucase, 1914-1918 was published in Paris (Massis, 1927). Its author, GS Major-General Gavriil Georgievich Korganoff, former assistant Chief of Staff of the Caucasian Army, used principally the material collected by Major-General Alexander Koulébiakine, head of the Military Historical Commission in Tiflis. The main material was later forwarded to the Armenian Peace Delegation at the Versailles Conference. The following paragraph of La Participation ... deals directly with the battle at Sardarabad:

- ⁸ Central prison in Moscow.
- 9 In 1918 four Korganoffs of Armenian origin were prominent in the Caucasus:
- General Adam Korganoff, was shot at Mineralnye Vody;
- his son Colonel Nicolai A. Korganoff (Cross and Saber of St. George), Commander of the First Armenian Cavalry Brigade, was shot in 1921;
- G. N. Korganoff (1886-1918), Commissar of Military and Naval Affairs in Baku and Commander of the armed forces defending the city in the summer of 1918, was shot near Kyzyl-Arwat on September 20, 1918;
- GS Major-General G. G. Korganoff (1880-1954), author of the book referred to, died in Paris and is buried at Père-Lachaise there.
- ¹⁰ Before becoming the Head of the Historical Commission of the Caucasian Army he had several command posts in the region of Van.

Simultaneously with the operation against Igdir, a Turkish brigade advanced alongside the railroad against the unit at Sardarabad and attacked it 17 o'clock on May 21. Under the pressure of the Turks the Armenian forces withdrew to the line formed by the villages Karakanlu, Kerpalu and Armenian Zeiva, thus protecting Echmiadzin (Vagarshapat). On May 23 General Silikoff, having reinforced the Sardarabad unit with his last reserves, started to counterattack and succeeded on May 24 in breaking the enemy's resistance and forcing him to abandon all his positions. Though on May 29 the Armenian forces had occupied the railroad stations of Karaburun and Alageuz and the villages of Talin and Mostara, General Silikoff could not continue his advance to Alexandropol and menace the rear of the Turkish forces. 11

It is obvious that Korganoff had made no efforts to collect additional evidence either by interviewing some of the eyewitnesses then still available or by contacting some of the wartime commanding officers in the Erivan sector. At the time of the publication of his book Korganoff's mind, as some of the evidence seems to indicate, was more preoccupied with other matters. Still La participation... does give valuable information and plausible estimates of the strength of the adversaries in 1918. The following paragraph should be noted:

Toward the end of the month of May, 1918, the Armenian Corps' strength was thirty battalions while at the same time the Turks had, counting the first line only, five divisions (the 3rd, 5th, 9th, 11th and 36th) or fifty battalions which could, in case of need, be reinforced by troops deployed between Sarikamiche and Alexandropol. Thus, merely in the first line, the Turks had practically double superiority in quantity of battalions; but, taking into account the size of each unit on both sides, the actual superiority of the Turks was triple. Also the Armenian battalions had, on average, less than 400 rifles while on the Turkish side this figure was at least 700. Thus thirty Armenian battalions with their total forces under 12,000 men were brought to fight fifty Turkish battalions with 35,000 men.¹³

The material gathered by Koulébiakine's outfit, and preserved partially in Korganoff's book, is an important contribution to the military history of the period. Nevertheless, it must be kept in mind that part of Koulébiakine's work was done with the financial assistance of the Armenian Government, and that Korganoff was a military advisor to the Armenian Peace Delegation; consequently neither was an entirely free and thus fully

¹¹ Korganoff, La participation..., pp. 168-169, this author's translation.

¹² G. G. Korganoff was acting as mediator among General A. P. Kutepov, S. P. Melgunov and others, according to S. P. Melgunov's article in the November 3, 1955 issue of the *Russkaya Misl* "Zagadki v dele Generala Kutepova" [Enigmas in Gen. Kutepov's case], Chapter VI.

¹³ Korganoff, op. cit. p. 173.

impartial agent. Their annals were mostly based on army reports, a type of material which was exceedingly scarce, especially on the events of April-May, 1918. In his letter to Mikhail Ivanovich Papadjanov, a member of the Armenian Peace Delegation, ¹⁴ written April 28, 1919, Koulébiakine insisted that the Commission's work was not completed. It must have been an exceedingly difficult job to gather all the data in uncooperative surroundings, and almost impossible to present them without engendering objections in some quarters along the line. Two handwritten reports of Koulébiakine, dated April 28 and 29, 1919, spoke about demoralization among the Armenian troops in the spring of 1918. They had reached Korganoff's files but were not taken into consideration in his presentation of the events of the period.

The Commission, created by the previous regime, had only limited financial means. ¹⁵ A debt of gratitude is owed to the unknown workers ¹⁶ whose salaries were too often overdue and to Koulébiakine himself for their efforts and accomplishments.

In 1953 W. E. D. Allen published a monumental work entitled Caucasian Battlefields with a subtitle A History of the Wars on the Turco-Caucasian Border, 1823-1921. In his effort he was assisted by P. P. Muratoff (1881-1950) who was well known for his art studies and who belonged to a Moscow group of literati transplanted abroad. With 1940, Muratoff cut his ties with the Russian émigré circles and devoted all his time to research for Allen. After World War II Muratoff secluded himself in Ireland close to the remarkable library of the Whitechurch House. Though Muratoff died three years before Caucasian Battlefields went on sale, his friend duly named his late collaborator as joint author of the book.

The part of the book dealing with the Erivan developments in May,

- ¹⁴ M. I. Papadjanov, a former member of the Duma, died in Tiflis during a visit to his homeland, on December 22, 1932.
- 15 The Military Historical Commission continued to function even after May 26, 1918, when Georgia declared her independence.
- ¹⁶ The composition of the Historical Commission is unknown except that its secretary was L. Lisitsyn.
- ¹⁷ A. S. Turshian incorrectly indicates in his *Sardarapati Herosamarta* [The Heroic Battle of Sardarabad] (Erevan, Haiastan, 1969), p. 249, that P. P. Muratoff participated in the Armeno-Turkish War of 1918.
- ¹⁸ Nina Berberova speaks warmly of P. P. Muratoff in her memoirs *The Italics are Mine* (New York, Harcourt Brace and World, 1969).
- ¹⁹ W. E. D. Allen's third wife was a Muscovite, Natalia Kossovskaia, who greatly helped her husband to collect the material and to put it together.
- ²⁰ P. P. Muratoff collaborated with W. E. D. Allen also on *The Russian Campaigns* 1941-45, published in two volumes in 1943 and 1946.

1918, is based mostly on Korganoff's material, but available Turkish archives, probably those which were recovered from Bulgaria in 1932, were also consulted by the author. The whereabouts of the other part of important Ottoman files smuggled abroad was, at the time Allen gathered his material, not known. Just recently several boxes of Turkish files were acquired by the Hoover Institute in Stanford, California, but they have not yet been catalogued.²¹ We included *Caucasian Battlefields* among the military data because, at least as far as the Erivan sector is concerned, most of the material in its Chapter XLI is based on military reports or obtained through military channels.

It is only to be expected that a work of the magnitude of Caucasian Battlefields would not be completely without flaws.²² But it does unwarrantedly suffer also from the fact that Allen served as a diplomat in Ankara for several years. During his stay in the Near East he met survivors of the 1914-1921 campaigns and, almost automatically, his coverage of the period shows a reluctance to admit Russian successes like that of the victory at Dilman in 1915.

Besides their many interviews with former Turkish senior officers, the authors consulted among others also General of Cavalry Nicolai Nicolaevich Baratoff, who had been Denikin's representative in Tiflis in 1919.²³ Yet, for reasons unknown, they bypassed the better informed GS Major-General Mikhail Mikhailovich Zinkevich who, after having retired from the Armenian Corps, represented Denikin in Erivan for a short while. In 1915 Zinkevich was Nazarbekoff's Chief of Staff and was wounded during the engagements at Dilman.²⁴

Though only briefly, Allen visited also GS Major-General Georgiii Ivanovich Kvinitadze who was for a short period of time commander of the Transcaucasian forces, before becoming the Commander in Chief of the Georgian Army.²⁵ A week before the fall of Kars Lebedinskii,

- ²¹ E. F. Ludshuveit, *Turtsia v gody pervoi mirovoi voiny 1914-1918* [Turkey in the years of the First World War, 1914-1918] (Moscow, Publication of the Moscow University, 1966), p. 5 also p. 5 n. 1 and 2. In the summer of 1970 Professor Enver Ziya Karal of the University of Ankara visited Stanford, California and examined the files.
 ²² Minor errors can occur in any serious work, *e.g.* Nazarbekoff died February 19, 1931, and not, as maintained by Allen, in 1937 (*op. cit.* p. 296 n. 1), or Abatsiev is of Ossetian origin and not of Armenian (*op. cit.* p. 367 n. 2).
- ²³ General of Cavalry, N. N. Baratoff, commanded the Russian Expeditionary forces in Persia before he joined Denikin and became his representative in Tiflis. He was wounded by El Balidze in 1919 and lost a leg. He died in France, March 22, 1932, at the age of 67 and was buried at Bagneux. Excepting his Ossetian grandmother, he was of Russian origin.
- ²⁴ He was killed in Yugoslavia in 1945.
- ²⁵ E. V. Lebedinskii was replaced by G. I. Kvinitadze, after Transcaucasia declared

accompanied by Kvinitadze, Nazarbekoff and Colonel Paul Chardigny of the French Military Mission, visited the fortress on an inspection tour. Meantime the Turks occupied Batum (April 15, 1918) and advanced in the direction of Akhalkalaki and Borzhom, thus threatening to cut off Tiflis, the capital of Transcaucasia, from Kutais and Poti. These developments cut short the trip of the senior officers and Kvinitadze did not get the chance to visit the Erivan sector and meet with Silikoff, his former schoolmate in the military academy.

At the time Allen started his research, most of the leading personalities of the Armenian resistance, like Nazarbekoff, Silikoff, Daniil and Pavel Bek Pirumov, Andranik, and Vyshinskii, just to mention a few, were no longer alive. Allen's main contact on the Armenian side was Dr. Arshak Safrastian. An energetic scholar, he was known for his numerous contributions to various fields of historical research. ²⁶ Since Safrastian was not in the Erivan region in May, 1918, his interpretation of the events in this sector was based on second-hand information only. Yet his knowledge of the local conditions, so little understood by the foreign observers, helped Allen and Muratoff greatly in avoiding the misunderstandings and misinterpretations others had fallen into.

Though members of the Turkish General Staff usually tried to minimize the figures of Turkish forces involved in the area, Allen, with his trained mind of a professional historian, was not too much influenced by these estimates. He was trying to remain impartial, and he gave more importance to the Sardarabad victory than even Korganoff himself. Allen and Muratoff describe the engagement as follows:

On the 21st, Silikov's main group was attacked near Sardarabad by two regiments of the Turkish 11th Caucasian Division on the march from Alexandropol. The Armenians were holding the line along the villages Karakanlu–Kerpalu–Zeiva, a few miles to the west of their holy city and patriarchal seat of Echmiadzin. The Turks were in no greater force than the Armenians and, using all his reserves, Silikov successfully counter-attacked on 23 and 24 May. He not only recaptured Sardarabad but pressed back the enemy as far as Ani and Mostara, some thirty miles to the north of Sardarabad.²⁷

her independence on April 22, 1918. The change in command took place four days after the Seim gave its vote of confidence to the new government.

Kvinitadze (Cross and Saber of St. George) died August 7, 1970, in France, at the age of 96.

²⁶ A. Salmaslian's *Bibliographie de l'Arménie*, Erevan, Editions de l'Académie des Sciences de la R.S.S. de l'Arménie, 1969, contains a partial list of Safrastian's works published in England.

²⁷ Op. cit., pp. 475-476.

After the above description and a short analysis of the events, the authors give Silikoff a friendly pat on the back, and forget Daniil Bek Pirumov completely.

Taken as a whole, Caucasian Battlefields is an outstanding book on the events of 1918-1920. Though a pioneer effort in its field, it is a work that, even today, can rightfully serve as basis for any pertinent study. One of the merits of the book is that it supplies detailed information on the Turkish forces operating in Transcaucasia in 1918-1921 and, though only occasionally, gives even the adversary's point of view on some of the questions.

The authors of Caucasian Battlefields estimated the invading Turkish forces as having consisted of nine well-equipped infantry divisions representing 55,000-60,000 seasoned askers²⁸ and several thousand irregulars. On the Armenian front 30,000 Turkish soldiers faced 20,000 Armenian rifles at the most. Of these, on May 23, 1918, Silikoff's forces defending the area of Sardarabad and Echmiadzin may have consisted of 6-7,000 men. This figure most likely includes several of the four partisan battalions available. The authors further maintain that the number of Turkish troops participating in the battle of Sardarabad was only slightly higher than that of the forces at the disposal of Silikoff, which seems to be a gross underestimate. They, however, admit that the Turks still had substantial reserves while the Armenians had already exhausted theirs.

In 1967 Professor Richard G. Hovannisian (Tigran Kasparovich) published his scholarly Armenia on the Road to Independence 1918. In it the author was able to give additional details about the military operations in the spring of 1918, having gained access to some of the files in Erevan and in Boston. However, Hovannisian, who was also familiar with Dr. Hovakim Melikian's chronicles (see chapter IV), was not aware of the existence of A. K. Chnéour's memoirs or of G. G. Yablokoff's autobiography (see Chapter III). As a result his description of the Sardarabad days does lack balance. For example, Silikoff could not have issued the order to the troops on May 24, as indicated by Hovannisian, and at the same time have instructed Daniil Bek Pirumov to discontinue the pursuit of the Turks and to shorten his front line. An informed guess would be that the order in question, which was read in the Dro sector around Ashtarak where several companies of partisans operated, was written in Silikoff's name rather than by him. Dro's group withstood the pressure of the 3rd Turkish Division for several days. After

²⁸ A Turkish name for a trained infantryman in the regular army.

the rout of Cavit Bey at Sardarabad, on May 24th Dro received reinforcements and the next day he started counter-attacks and recaptured Bashabaran on May 29th, as recorded by the Journal of the Armenian Corps. ²⁹

Also, Hovannisian, like many other chroniclers, silently overlooked Silikoff's poor knowledge of the Armenian language. At the time of the Sardarabad events he hardly spoke Armenian, which eliminates further the possibility of his being the author of the order. According to his colleagues, Silikoff, who came from Vartashen in Azerbaidjan, was of Udic origin. Although the Udis belong to the Checheno-Lezghian group of nationalities, they have preserved their original language.³⁰ The Armenians converted them to Christianity probably in the fifth century and the Udis have been worshipping in Armenian churches since.³¹ Mosei Silikoff studied at the military academy (Kadetskii Korpus) in Tiflis where classes in religion (Zakon Bozhyi) were part of the regular and obligatory curriculum. An Armenian priest, a Catholic ksendz and a mollah gave classes for pupils of non-Greek Orthodox faith. The little knowledge of Armenian Silikoff could have acquired during these lessons must have faded during his long career in the Russian Army where he hardly could have found opportunities to brush up on his Armenian.³²

Sometime in May 1918, the military authorities in the Erivan region suggested that the Catholicos should leave Echmiadzin for a more secure place, but Guevork V categorically refused to follow their advice. There are several versions of the episode. In an article, published posthumously, Arshavir Shakhatuni vividly describes their sad mission carried out with Aram Pasha. 33 On the other hand, in A. G. Turshian's *The Heroic Battle of Sardarabad*, one reads that Silikoff, "unfamiliar with Armenian life", went to the residence of the Head of the Church. 34 Then the headquarters of the 2nd Armenian Infantry Division were located in the

²⁹ Pp. 20-22.

³⁰ According to N. S. Troubetzkoy the Udic language, spoken only in two villages, belongs to the Checheno-Lezghian group and has absorbed many Armenian expressions (*Les langues du monde*, Paris, 1924, p. 335).

³¹ According to Entsiklopedicheskii Slovar' (Moscow, 1967) 3,700 Udis (Udiny or Udintsy) live in the U.S.S.R., 92% of whom are still using the Udic dialect. The original native tongue has been invaded by many Armenian, Azerbaidjanian, Georgian and Russian technical expressions. The Udis are still living in their original villages in the Nukha region.

³² According to a letter of July 1, 1970, Kvinitadze remembered having been Silikoff's schoolmate.

³³ Hairenik Amsagir 37 viii (Boston, 1959), p. 139.

³⁴ Op. cit. p. 139.

building of the Armenian Theological Seminary, a few blocks away from the Echmiadzin Cathedral. It is indeed possible that there are two missions involved here which took place on different dates, and that the emissaries from Erivan came after Silikoff's failure to persuade the Catholicos not to remain in Echmiadzin.

The anxious efforts of the military authorities to have the Catholicos leave Echmiadzin is easily understood if one considers the seriousness of the situation. Thousands of refugees had taken over the market place near the walls of the ancient monastery and human masses filled also the yard of a dilapidated caravanserai on the opposite side of the market place. All these people came from the recently occupied villages. Prone to panic, they were no morale boosters for the soldiers in the front lines, or for the local population for that matter. This author arrived at Echmiadzin mid-June and was stationed there during July 7-10 when the Turks once again violated the armistice: they seized several villages in the rear of Echmiadzin. The fleeing refugees, with their oxen, water buffaloes, cows, donkeys, and overloaded carts, blocked the road to be used by the army convoys. Finally all these impediments had to be cleared away by an energetic intervention of a regular army unit. 35

The main difference between the army units and the partisan detachments was in their command. The latter were led by *xmbapets*³⁶ well experienced in guerilla warfare, while the troops belonging to the Armenian Corps were commanded by officers graduated either from Russian military academies or from war-time officers' training schools. During the swift advance of the Turks many volunteers, especially among soldiers, were sent to combat duty untrained.

The Armenian inhabitants of the Erivan region were called to serve by a local mobilization decree, whereas the refugees from Anatolia served voluntarily. The Armenians from various parts of the former Russian Empire had to be considered volunteers because there was no way of keeping them in their units if they wanted to quit.

The civil war in the Northern Caucasus prevented many Armenians from reaching Tiflis so as to join the armed forces formed there. On the other hand, the lack of communication gave an excuse to those who did not want to do so.

In order to reinforce the partisan units some well experienced officers,

³⁵ Korganoff, La participation..., pp. 170-171.

³⁶ An Armenian name for a leader of any band, even of musicians, but usually applies to a leader of a partisan mounted unit.

who had graduated from the General Staff Academy in Petrograd, were assigned as advisers to *xmbapets*. For example, GS Colonel Pritomanoff was appointed Chief of Staff of the Dro unit.³⁷

³⁷ According to his former colleagues Pritomanoff died in Lyon in the Fifties.

WITNESSES' ACCOUNTS

Following a halt in the Brest Litovsk negotiations, G. K. Ordzhonikidze persuaded Lenin to sign a decree authorizing the natives of Transcaucasia to return to their homeland and to join the local militia. Stalin countersigned the decree in his capacity as People's Commissar for Affairs of Nationalities.¹

In the night of March 17-18, the first Moscow echelon, composed of 125 persons and overwhelmingly of Armenians, reached Rostov-on-Don. It was there that the author joined the echelon. On April 6, this group reached Tiflis via Armavir, Tuapse and Batum. Being a sophomore in the Institute of Communication Engineers in Moscow, the author was quickly assigned to the liaison detachment of the First Mounted Subdivision of the Second Armenian Artillery Brigade. The subdivision was under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Khalmykov, while second lieutenant Vagan Avedovich Gargaloev was in charge of the liaison detachment consisting of 18-20 privates. The subdivision left Tiflis by rail on April 16 and reached Erivan four days later.

The author remained in the region of Erivan and Echmiadzin until August 6, 1918, and while there, he kept a brief diary in Russian which

¹ A young commissar in charge of the Central Post and Telegraph Office in Sobornyi Pereulok, Rostov-on-Don, probably either Egia Chubarian or Stepan Muradian, authorized the local Armenian Committee to use direct wire connection with Petrograd, Moscow and with some of the provincial centers. The decree was received directly from Moscow and re-transmitted to Stavropol and to Astrakhan. After the author's departure from Rostov-on-Don (3/18/1918), a group of local Armenians persuaded Sarkisov, the owner of Astoria, to reopen the restaurant for a banquet in honor of Ordzhonikidze in appreciation of his intervention with Lenin.

² Several companions on this trip were still alive in 1970.

³ Vtorokursnik.

⁴ In 1920 Gargaloev lost his life in a battle near Kars.

survived all these years. The entries from May 21 to 30, in translation, read as follows:

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"Tuesday
           21 sunny
                            occupation* of
Wednesday 22 sunny
                             Sardarabad
                             occupation* of Araks
Thursday
           23 sunny
                                                           drill
Friday
           24 sunny
Saturday
           25 rain
                                                           drill
Sunday
           26 rain
                                                           drill
Monday
           27 rain
                                                           field exercises
           28 sunny night
                          occupation* of Karaburun
Tuesday
                            and of Alageuz
Wednesday 29 rain
                                                           movies
Thursday
           30 rain/sunny
                            arrival of Nazarbekoff"
                                                       [* by the Armenian forces]
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Besides the information found in the diary, the author has a few recollections about these decisive days. He remembers that the 5th Armenian Rifle Regiment led the frontal attack, and that the battery of Captain Sakelary⁵ never wasted a shot by withholding its fire till the last moment. There is also an odd incident which took place shortly before the battle. The liaison detachment requisitioned four horses from the Molokans⁶ engaged in local carriage trade. These horses were badly needed to fulfil at least the minimum of requirements and to make it possible for the detachment to proceed to the front when instructed to do so. However, some higher authorities ordered Gargaloev to return the animals to their owners because, under some old tzarist regulations, the Molokans were exempt from military service and from any kind of requisitions.

The author's comrade at arms, Alexander G. Yablokoff, had an elder brother in the 5th Armenian Rifle Regiment, Georgii G. Yablokoff (Khanzorian) who was born in 1893 in Nor Nakhitchevan. After obtaining his law degree at Moscow University Georgii entered the military academy (Alexandrovskoie Voenoe Uchilishche). In 1916 he graduated third out of a class of 600 and was assigned to the staff of the Siberian Rifle Division. Soon Yablokoff managed to be transferred to the Caucasian front, where he fought with the 5th Armenian Rifle Regiment under Colonel Pavel

A native of the Kars region, Sakelary (Saber of St. George) was of Greek origin.

⁶ The Molokans belong to a Russian religious sect whose members were exiled by the authorities to Transcaucasia in the 19th century. Their priests were elected by the communities.

⁷ He died in Bastia, Corsica, on May 5, 1969. His family name was originally Khanzorian which in the russified form became Yablokoff, because *xnzor* in Armenian means apple which is *iabloko* in Russian.

Bek Pirumov. After the Battle of Sardarabad, Yablokoff was promoted to Captain 2nd grade, and attached to the headquarters of the Armenian Corps. In 1920, he served as military aide to the Armenian Delegation at the Alexandropol Peace Conference. A fortnight later he left Armenia and entered the Belgian War College. It was the first time in its history that this academy accepted a foreigner. After graduation, Yablokoff followed a varied career to become finally an analyst researcher for the Library of Congress in Washington.

G. G. Yablokoff, under the pseudonym of K. Zorian, wrote an autobiography with the title *Arménien*, which was published in Paris in 1964. It is difficult to find copies of this book because Scorpion, the publishing house which brought it out, went bankrupt before being able to put on sale its last publications, including Yablokoff's autobiography. However, *Arménien* can be found on the shelves of the principal public libraries of Paris and Brussels.

Written in French, Yablokoff's book gives a sober, authentic description of the Battle of Sardarabad and the pertinent part, in this author's translation, reads as follows:

On May 21 the Turkish avant-garde seized the railroad station of Araks straight to the north from the station of Sardarabad. The Armenian Command decided that the moment had arrived when the last reserves should be thrown into the struggle. All available units were sent to the region where the command decided to undertake the final battle. The 5th Armenian Rifle Regiment had received its assignment which was an order to leave the village of Sardarabad and to take a position a few kilometers west of this settlement. The civilian population was evacuated from the locality.

On May 23 the Armenians started their counter offensive, and in five days of fighting succeeded first in halting the advance of the Turkish troops, and then in throwing them back several dozen kilometers to the north.

I will not venture into a detailed account of the engagement called by the Armenians the "Battle of Sardarabad". Nevertheless, I cannot resist the urge to evoke several situations and impressions which are rooted in my memory with an exceptional clarity.

I still see the 5th Armenian Rifle Regiment assembled near a tiny hamlet with its battalions forming lines in a 19th century way, and the commander of the regiment, slightly apart facing them, surrounded by his staff. It almost appeared like a scene cut out of the paintings which adorned the walls of my military academy — only the frisky horses and the multicolored uniforms of the past were missing; on the other hand no tanks, no airplanes were visible either.

I remember a few of the words I had told my men when I learned that my company with two others was assigned to lead the regiment as vanguard among others. I told them that they must realize that we could not retreat anymore because the small free territory in our rear was all that remained of Armenia and that to run for refuge in the mountains would mean to abandon

not only the inhabitants of the territory but also the countless number of refugees who found safety there. I well remember that the regimental commander, after hearing my "speech", immediately reduced the number of companies in the vanguard from three to two. He probably thought that the vanguard led by a "crazy lawyer" would undoubtedly be annihilated by the Turks and he wanted to limit the losses. But it was not my company that he withdrew.

When I review the events of this day in my mind, I see an endless line of Armenian soldiers entrenched in front of hillocks held by the enemy. After the Turkish vanguard elements were thrown back in disorder the main Armenian forces, including the 5th Rifle Regiment, came into contact with the principal Turkish front line and prepared to attack it. I can still hear the bullets whistle, the shells explode, though not too numerous, and I remember asking myself whether I would or would not be hit while crossing a few thousand meters⁸ that separated me from the enemy.

Then, suddenly, I noticed far on the right that a Turkish unit was giving up and disappearing behind a hill. I also saw the Armenian unit, which was facing it, getting up and racing toward the position just abandoned by the enemy. This movement spread along the front line, from one unit to another, and soon the Armenians did not even wait anymore for the Turks facing them to start the withdrawal. Forgetting the bullets and the shells they went ahead as soon as their turn arrived. My company did the same without awaiting my order.

The Turkish positions were captured without too many losses. I learned later that the Turks were forced to abandon their positions because their flank was circumvented by a detachment of Armenian volunteers, unexpectedly appearing on the battlefield. The commander of this detachment, a Turkish Armenian, was killed during the fighting.

I, indeed, cannot forget the excitement I felt in seeing the Turkish rear-guards retreating in a hurry, pressed by our troops. At dusk our pursuit was halted but it was to be continued at daybreak. The troops received orders to remain in position for the night, according to their general deployment. In the field where my company was located there were no houses, no shelter whatsoever. It was cold. The rain, sharp and persistent, penetrated through the uniforms. In order to rest I was given a spot which the soldiers believed to be a choice one: I was to lay down on the ashes of a dead fire. Unfortunately, the ashes had kept their heat too well. Indeed, they were still so hot that I had to spend the night turning around; it took about half an hour to dry my clothes and to get unbearably hot on one side and, after turning, it took approximately the same amount of time for the rain to reach my skin again.

Nevertheless, I do not believe that I ever felt happier than on the night from the 25th to the 26th of May, 1918.

A few days later I was among a dozen officers who were decorated on the battlefield by the Commander in Chief of the Armenian troops in person.9

⁸ Undoubtedly a misprint. It should be either feet or steps.

⁹ Zorian, op. cit. pp. 90-93.

There is a gap of two days in Yablokoff's account from the time Silikoff temporarily halted the pursuit of the Turks to the time when the Armenians resumed their advance, a time lapse during which reinforcements reached Dro's men on the Bashabaran front enabling them to pursue their counterattacks.

In 1967 Yablokoff had a mild stroke and had to reduce his activities. Nevertheless, he supplied the author with a few until then unknown but important details, which will be quoted verbatim at the end of this chapter and in Chapter V.

Another written eyewitness account of the events had been given by the staff officer who conducted the battle, GS Colonel Alexander K. Chnéour (then Captain and Chief of Staff of Major-General Daniil Bek Pirumov). He wrote his memoirs about the Armeno-Turkish War of 1918-1919 and published extracts of them in *Soglasiye*, a monthly Russian mimeographed magazine with a limited circulation among the emigré colony in Los Angeles, California. These articles appeared in the years between 1963 and 1968. The interruptions in the publication were mostly due to the illness of Chnéour whose eyesight steadily deteriorated and made reading very difficult for him, even with a magnifying glass, so much so that occasionally the extracts from his memoirs were edited and published without the author's approval of the final version.

Chnéour was born in St. Petersburg in 1884.¹⁰ He attended a private high school (gimnazia) of Gurevich where he received his diploma in 1904. Two years later he graduated from the Artillery Academy (Mikhailovskoie Artilleriiskoie Voennoe Uchilishche). He served with units stationed in Poland, received a pilot's license from the Kiev Aviation School in 1915 and was graduated from the General Staff Academy in Petrograd in 1916. He was wounded on the Western front in 1917. Early in 1918, he was assigned to GS Colonel Morel on the Caucasian front. After the retreat from Erzerum, he took on the command of a special brigade and participated in several engagements near Kars. His coolness under adverse circumstances as well as his bravery had won him much recognition. At one time the detachment of Captain Hassan Pashaian was

Originally from Alsace, the Chnéours came to Russia in the 19th century. The family produced several prominent jurists and officers. In 1876, the uncle of A. K. Chnéour captured, with a daring charge, a redoubt of the Turkish fortress of Ardakhan. For this feat he was decorated with the Cross of St. George. Beside his brother Vladimir, mentioned in n. 19, Ch. I, Alexander K. Chnéour had another brother, Nicolai, who died in Japan in 1934, and two married sisters.

included in his unit and Chnéour truly appreciated this excellent officer who probably came from the ranks. ¹¹ On May 22 Chnéour was appointed Chief of Staff of the Sardarabad group. He remained with the Armenian forces till October, 1919, when the program of nationalization was adopted by the Armenian Government. Then Chnéour resigned his commission and joined Denikin's forces.

Chnéour's description of the events of May 22 and 23 carries a personal touch which enlivens the report. This is the first written document that gives the reader a general picture of the battle and an idea of its strategy, which no other source had provided before. The following relevant passage appeared in *Soglasiye* (No. 172) in January 1966:

I was provided with an engine which brought me to the railroad station of Sardarabad in the evening of May 22. The engine stopped two versts¹² beyond Sardarabad. I got out and continued afoot on the embankment. About a verst further a group of people was sitting on the embankment. From time to time the Turks shot a round of shrapnel aimed at the Armenians occupying the hillocks alongside the railroad tracks. I approached the group. It proved to be the staff of General Daniil Bek Pirumov, to whom I was assigned. The situation was in fact extremely difficult. Armenians were deployed alongside the railroad line with their right flank folded back leaving the road in the rear leading toward Erivan open.

No reserves existed. The attached sketch indicates the situation as it was on the evening of the 22nd.

The sun was setting. Leaning over the map, we sat with General Pirumov discussing the things to be done that night.

The situation was tragic. Even the size of the Turkish forces was not known.

It was obvious that those in the front of us in the hills were only their avantgarde.

14

The fate of Armenia was at stake and the life of her population. During the night, partial reserves were formed. Our left flank was withdrawn sharply backwards. On our right flank two companies with two pieces of artillery were sharply projected forward. By telephone we received from General Silikoff the authority to use the Khiznaus detachment of Captain Hassan Pashaian (Erzindjan Regiment). The latter then received the order to proceed west in the morning, to penetrate into the far side of the small hills occupied by the Turks, and to open artillery fire on them from the rear.

The plan of the battle was briefly as follows: the Sardarabad group, by its

¹¹ The vicissitudes of this unit are related in the beginning of Chapter IV.

¹² A verst is equal of 0.6629 of a mile.

¹³ A. K. Chneour added in ink on this author's copy of the article the following: "But substantially larger then the Armenians".

¹⁴ Here Chnéour added on the authors' copy, "Nearly a regiment".

¹⁵ For the origin of this unit see the beginning of Chapter IV.

pressure, should keep the Turks pinned down to their position, thus giving a chance to the Khiznaus detachment to penetrate deeply into their back, and to cut off their rear lines of communication. Only then should the main Sardarabad forces start a general attack from their frontal positions.

The plan was good. The question was only whether it would be possible to execute it? What if the Khiznaus detachment should meet Turkish forces of a similar size?

Before nightfall the staff of General Pirumov moved to the railroad station of Sardarabad, and it was from there that all the orders were issued. A feverish activity was going on in all units. Private reserves were formed. All necessary supplies were provided. The munitions were brought forward. The men were well fed, even wine rations were distributed. Everybody was aware of the great importance of the next day. We spent the night dozing when and wherever possible. Everybody was excited.

May 23rd, 1918.

At daybreak we were all on our feet and hardly did the first sunrays appear when gunfire started along the entire front. Artillery fired sporadically, followed by machine guns. The Turks made several attempts to descend from their hills and to advance, but each time our concentrated fire forced them to turn back.

General Pirumov, wearing a peace time military overcoat with a red underlining, paced up and down; finally he could not stand it anymore and joined the front line.

Leaving, he entrusted me with the authority to conduct the battle.

Captain, he told me, you certainly know everything and direct the battle as previously decided.

I climbed on the top of the water tower, from where everything was distinctly visible. About 9 a.m. a cloud of dust appeared in the north, from the direction of the Khiznaus detachment. It moved slowly to the west — the detachment was making its way toward its assigned position.

Our units, entrenched about a thousand steps from the Turkish lines, moved slowly forward and were now about 400 steps from them. General Pirumov slowly walked into the front wearing his red lined overcoat wide open. Then, upon his orders, the advance guard halted.

About 1 p.m. the cloud of dust passed the rear of the enemy, and at 2 p.m. artillery fire roared from there.

In the meantime, whenever the Turks started an attack, our right outposts (two companies and two field guns) opened fire from the side and the Turks had to halt and to entrench themselves.

Then I sent out by orderlies the prepared-in-advance order to "attack", and thus General Pirumov received his own order. The lines rose and rushed ahead shouting "hurrah". A panic arose in the Turkish lines, because the detachment which outflanked them opened artillery fire on the supply carriages. A few moments later the Turks started to flee abandoning everything including their munitions, supplies, their wounded and dead. The Armenians pursued them shooting while running fast after them. It was our cavalry detachment, including the Zeitun Cavalry Regiment of Colonel Salibekoff, that galloped after them.

The Turks fell back fifty versts. They dispersed in the mountains. It took them several days to assemble their men.

The battle was won. Armenia was saved.16

For the following eighteen months Chnéour remained in Armenia and occupied several army posts. He even participated in the short Armeno-Georgian War. Still, he never again ran into Pashaian, his former subordinate, of whom he was so fond. Nobody really knows what happened to Pashaian. Was he killed on May 23rd at Sardarabad, as Yablokoff reports in his autobiography? Or did he perish later, and if so, where? Or did he leave Armenia in search of his family? Still another possibility might be that Pashaian disappeared in order to avoid causing embarrassment to the newly installed government which was obliged by the Batum Treaty to surrender to the Turks all Armenians who were formerly officers of the Turkish Army and had deserted their posts.

To find the correct answer to these questions first of all the archives of the Armenian War Ministry would have to be examined. These archives were eventually incorporated into the archives of the All-Union Ministry of Defense and are since then kept in Moscow. ¹⁷ It has to be borne in mind that Pashaian's name has been misspelled in many ways, starting from Bek Hassan to Captain Gasapashiantz and even to Colonel Karo (Karapet) Hasabbasian. ¹⁸ For the men in his unit he most probably was Hassan Pasha; for the records of the army, often kept by military clerks not familiar with Armenian, he became Hassan Pashaian, and this is the version we use throughout this study for clarity's sake. ¹⁹

The articles published in Soglasiye contain many mistakes.²⁰ For instance Chnéour discloses that on May 22, 1918, the President of the Armenian Republic, A. I. Khatisoff, had sent him from Erivan back to Sardarabad. Yet on that Wednesday Khatisoff was either in Batum attending the Peace Conference or on the train on his way to Tiflis. Furthermore, no Armenian Republic existed before May 28th, and even further, the news of the declaration of independence by the Armenian

¹⁶ This author's translation.

¹⁷ The archives were transferred in the Twenties.

¹⁸ Khasab-bashi could be translated from Turkish as 'butcher chief'. A. G. Turshian (op. cit., p. 248) implied in his book that Pashaian was from Akhaltsikh

¹⁹ In the articles of *Soglasiye* and in Chnéour's 2nd notebook the name occurs as *Hasapashants*.

²⁰ In his article of August, 1966 (No. 179 of *Soglasiye*), Chnéour assumes that Silikoff and Daniil Bek Pirumov belonged to an Armenian revolutionary party. In the case of Pirumov, Chnéour confused the General with a namesake. Silikoff's poor Armenian automatically eliminated the possibility of his membership in the party.

National Council in Tiflis reached Erivan with a delay of several days. If Khatisoff asked Chnéour to accept an assignment, it must have been at some later date, probably during the Armeno-Georgian conflict. Exactly these confusions in the Chnéour story caused this author to search for the original manuscript written by Chnéour about half a century ago.

It should be mentioned here that Chnéour was (and still is) a man of varied interests. While in North Africa, he wrote scholarly articles about the flora and fauna of the desert. He has a great sense of history and knows that he lived in an eventful period in which a new era was being molded. Despite many difficulties, Chnéour's original three notebooks from 1922 have been located. They have not been doctored by anyone, and this author has given them complete priority over the articles which appeared in *Soglasiye*, and their partial translation into Armenian, published by a local organization in Fresno, California, in pamphlet form in 1967.²¹

The above mentioned Khatisoff episode, for instance, does not figure in the original manuscript, the pertinent pages of which are reproduced in facsimile in Appendix G. Still, the article published by *Soglasiye* in No. 172 contains several details, probably recollected and added after 1922, which seem to be authentic, making the translation of the articles given on the previous pages worthwhile.

Chnéour started to write his memoirs on June 1st, 1922, in Beograd. They cover the period from November, 1917, to December, 1919, and consist of three thin notebooks filled with close handwriting. Some additions made in a larger handwriting on account of Chnéour's failing eyesight must have been made later. It is the second notebook which contains the three sketches of the battle reproduced on the pages of this study. The passage covering the events of May 16-23, in Chnéour's original memoirs, reads in translation as follows:

(May) 16 we decided to withdraw south of the railroad station of Alageuz in order to get away from the mountain defile, some 5-6 versts south of the railroad station of Ani. We blew up the water tower which supplied water to all railroad stations starting from Bayandur down to Ani, *i.e.* approximately a stretch of 100 versts, and we departed. In the gorge the ambushed Kurds shot at us. Our losses were one wounded — my subordinate, a Guard officer. Our detachment consisted of the Khinis Regiment, some 300 men, and a mounted company of 120.

²¹ Chnéour was not aware of the Amurian comments nor did he know what parts of his story were selected to appear in translation.

Contact with headquarters was to be kept through radio communication. After many attempts we found that the headquarters of the Corps were then at Karaklis. On occasions the radio emitter would operate on a radius of 120 versts, i.e. much more than it was made for. It was a continuous gamble with nature in the mountains: occasionally it did work only on much shorter distances while some other times it functioned twice as far as it was made for. Later I observed this in the neighborhood of Lake Gokcha and noticed that the sharp cliffs of the mountains, particularly if close either to the sending or to the receiving end, handicapped the operation — as if the steepness of the trajectory would be playing a role in the diffusion of the electromagnetic waves.

Here I saw a snake of enormous size, its head pierced by a rifleman's bayonet. It coiled around the whole rifle including the butt end. I thought at first that it was a species of adder, but later I learned that it was a poisonous one, called lizard snake because it feeds on lizards.²²

In accordance with the instructions of the staff of the Corps, we decided to retreat further south to the railroad station of Araks *i.e.* to the spot where the Alageuz highlands (about 8,500 f.) end and the decline toward the Erivan Valley begins. The Turks followed us cautiously. At the station of Araks we entered the zone of the Erivan group and automatically fell under the command of its head — the Commander of the 1st Armenian Division, Major-General Silikoff.²³

My superior became Colonel Peter [sic] Bek Pirumov, stationed with his troops in the settlement of Sardar-Abad. It was a large village with cube-like oriental houses, the whole resembling rather a conglomeration of vineyards with high earthen walls. The Zeitun Cavalry Regiment, under the command of Colonel Salibekoff, was also stationed there.

We arrived together with the commander of the 2nd special brigade²⁴ in the evening, and the same night I assumed the function of the Chief of Staff of the Sardarabad group.

Meantime the Turks had already reached the railroad station of Araks, and our brigade withdrew to the station of Sardarabad. The Turks swarmed around the station of Araks. Soon their mountain battery opened fire on us. Our battery answered them. Our supply columns moved toward Echmiadzin using field roads. The Turks became bolder, and their advance units with machine guns started to move ahead, adapting themselves to the terrain. Soon the engagement expanded and spread to the village of Sardarabad occupied by the Zeitun Regiment. Individual Turkish machine gunners started to approach our units to a distance of 1000 steps.

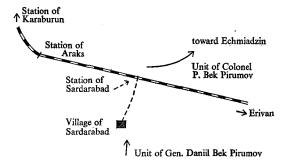
Colonel Peter Bek Pirumov was personally a very brave man, but rather indecisive, non-enterprising; he decided to simply retain our position.

Later Chnéour added on the margin: "a very large specimen, probably Coelopetis Monzpegulia"; but he crossed it out and replaced it with "Vipera Lebetuno".

²³ An obvious mistake: Silikoff commanded the Second Armenian Division, while Colonel Argutinskii was the commander of the First.

²⁴ Several special brigades operated in the region. They were composed of scattered units which the command tried to reorganize. It is not clear what unit Chnéour had in mind.

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Situation May 20, 1918 according to a sketch in A.K. Chnéour's notebook (facing page 99)

He was opposed to taking any risks. In the evening we began our withdrawal and with darkness everything rolled back without waiting for the arrival of the strong detachment of General Daniil Bek Pirumov from the shores of the Araks.

We wandered for a long time in the utter darkness of that night, until we got to a larger Armenian village where we passed the night. In the morning I went to Echmiadzin to get instructions from General Silikoff for further measures to be taken. He was staying in the Seminary building. It was then that I got acquainted with Silikoff's Chief of Staff, GS Colonel Vekhilov—a fairly talented and active man.

Silikoff ordered us to advance and to reoccupy the railroad station of Sardarabad. On the 21st the men of Colonel P. Bek Pirumov retook the station of Sardarabad, meeting no resistance. Simultaneously we seized the village of Sardarabad, and a merger of the units took place with General Daniil Bek Pirumov taking over the combined command.

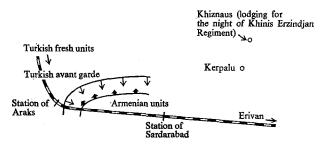
The morning of the 22nd I was ill in Erivan, but I was urgently dispatched to the railroad station of Sardarabad, because the Turks had considerably mauled the units of General Daniil Bek Pirumov during his attempt to advance and to retake the station of Araks.

The Turks outflanked our advance column on the right, forcing it to withdraw closer to the railroad line. This manoeuvre separated us from the right wing and left the road to Echmiadzin unprotected. Furthermore, our reserves were completely used up, while fresh units reached the Turks.

About 6 p.m. I arrived in an engine at the station of Sardarabad from Erivan. Four versts ahead the battle was going on. I rode in the engine another three versts and continued then afoot; I had to present myself to my new commander, Daniil Bek Pirumov.

He sat on the railroad embankment with his staff, his aide-de-camp Captain Kolmaniants and two or three other officers, watching the fighting. The Turks occasionally sent a series of shrapnel in their direction, as if guessing that there was the center of the command. The telephone operator, the messengers, and the horses were sheltered by the railroad embankment.

I presented myself and got acquainted with the situation. It was a difficult one.



Situation May 22, 1918 (at night) according to a sketch in A.K. Chnéour's notebook (facing page 100)

It was obvious that during the night some reserves should be formed. No help could be expected from anywhere.

The Turks and the Armenians were so close to each other that it was literally impossible to apportion reserves from the front line. In the darkness we returned to the station of Sardarabad and in the railroad car we spent a long time over the maps with General Pirumov.

It was then that we remembered about the units stationed behind our right flank in Kerpalu and Khiznaus. I went to ask by telephone Gen. Silikoff's permission to hit the rear of the enemy, in conformity with our general plan, with the Khiznaus detachment. Gen. Silikoff agreed.

May 23rd was a beautifully bright day, and from the water tower of the station of Sardarabad the whole Sardarabad plain was clearly visible with the white cap of Alageuz to the right.

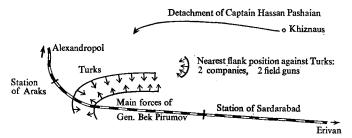
With daybreak the battle started in the front. Gen. Pirumov could not stand it any longer, and departed to the front lines together with his aidede-camp, Kolmaniants. The command was left in my hands.

Through the light mist I moved a small detachment of two companies and two field guns to our right flank to envelop the left wing of the Turks. Projecting forward this detachment defended our weakest point. The fighting got hotter. The Armenian troops received an order to attack the enemy, in accordance with the special instructions of the commander of our group, Gen. Pirumov. This attack had to be made to coincide with the moment when the Khiznaus detachment reached the rear of the Turks. The fighting got intensive. On several occasions the Turks tried to attack our units. The front lines narrowed to 400 steps.

My projection on the right worked successfully, and shooting out of an angle covered the Turks with shrapnel.

About 11 a.m. I noticed from the water tower a column of dust far away—it was the Khiznaus detachment which moved at the foothills of Alageuz and was hidden by hillocks.

About 1 p.m. dust appeared behind the Turkish flank and started to spread into their rear. I held back. At 2 p.m. dust came up exactly over the Turkish lines of retreat. In the name of Gen. Pirumov I despatched to our troops the order to attack. Gen. Pirumov received his own order and personally led the



Situation May 23, 1918 (in the afternoon) according to sketch in A.K. Chnéour's notebook (facing page 101)

attack of the advance lines. The Turks stubbornly resisted. Then the roar of cannons came up from their rear. Panic started. Everybody began to run. Our entrenched lines got up and with shouts of "hurrah" pursued them. A group of Turks was successfully surrounded, but the main part fled, running head over heels, abandoning everything. Our modest cavalry units pursued them, took prisoners and supply trains. The Turks ran blindly, not following any roads, because the detachment of Captain Hassan Pashaian with the same Erzindjan regiment, already operated in their rear.

In other words the Turks rolled back fifty versts. Their units, which operated in this sector, were literally dispersed, and it required several days to find and assemble them.

Many details in Chnéour's memoirs, written in a brief, military style, coincided with this author's experiences. After a moving description of the battle it may seem perhaps somewhat trivial to bring up an incident reported at a later point by Chnéour. His group was moved to Echmiadzin on June 11th. While stationed there a court martial condemned a deserter for rape. The sentence was not commuted, and the man was hanged in the village square. This episode remained clearly in the mind of this author. His liaison detachment was transferred to Echmiadzin on June 22nd. On the way an innocent refugee was killed by a sharpshooter, probably a Kurd, whose traces vanished completely. In Echmiadzin our detachment was assigned quarters on the ground floor of a house, the house where the court-martial was deliberating. It condemned to death a deserter for raping a young girl, a refugee. An angry crowd stood in front of the building, while the offender was kept upstairs. The next morning our detachment was moved away to an abandoned inn. Fortyeight hours later, at dawn, the execution took place on the gallows installed at the crossroads, close to our new quarters.

The eyewitness descriptions of the battle itself made by army men do not contradict each other. Even the few details added later by the participants only tend to close some of the remaining gaps. Recently G. G. Yablokoff supplied the following information in a letter dated October 12, 1970:²⁵

... Preliminary fighting — occupation of the railroad station and the approach to the hills — was principally done by the 5th Regiment (I do not know anything about the operations of the troops in our Igdir sector in the same period of time). The Turks left the station practically without fighting and stopped at the foot of the hills near Sardarabad. They halted the Armenian troops in their pursuit: my company was followed by a battalion under the command of Colonel Sarkissian. The attack of the Armenian cavalry, which followed, was not successful because the Armenian officer who commanded the cayalry unit started his attack too far in the back; in fact so far behind that the commanding officer confounded the above mentioned front detachments, which were far ahead of the main Armenian forces, with the Turkish troops, and directed his attack on us. The Turks took advantage of the delay in our offensive, and used it to reinforce substantially the defense of the hills near Sardarabad. The Armenians too brought reinforcements to the foot of the hills. The Turkish detachment, which delayed our advance for a time, was withdrawn, and our main forces remained face to face with the Turkish main forces.

I believe that the turning point in the battle for the hills near Sardarabad was the attack by a cavalry unit of Turkish Armenians under the command of an officer, also a Turkish Armenian, whose name I forgot.²⁶

For the sake of the records it has to be mentioned here that neither Chnéour, nor Yablokoff, nor Dr. Melikian, whose recollections will be given in the next chapter, have ever met or even heard of each other. They wrote their reminiscences without having read about or gained any knowledge from the other chroniclers. At the time Dr. Hovakim Melikian's articles appeared in the Armenian monthly in Boston, he was living in Iran; while Yablokoff, who upon graduation from the Belgian War College went to the Belgian Congo, was practically cut off from the outside world, and Chnéour was busy earning his living first by teaching in the Balkans, then by running a garage in Lyon until 1930, when he left for Tunisia, where he became an employee of the Public Works Department. ²⁷

²⁵ This author's translation from Russian.

The facsimile of the whole letter is given in appendix J.

²⁷ The information about Dr. Melikian was provided by Professor A. Simeonian. G. Yablokoff described his own life career in his autobiography. A. K. Chnéour supplied the author with his biography long before Melikian's articles, published in 1925, in *Hairenik Amsagir*.

FRAGMENTARY DATA

The Armenian monthly of Boston, *Hairenik Amsagir*, published a series of articles by Dr. Hovakim Melikian in 1925. Several chapters of the article in the May issue deal with the events of May, 1918. Dr. Melikian, an Erivan physician, at one time had accompanied the detachment of Captain Hassan Pashaian. In the spring of 1921, Dr. Melikian emigrated to Persia and settled in Spaan (Isfahan) where he practiced medicine. It was reported that he died in Iran in 1965.

Before examining the contents of these articles, the origin of the detachment commanded by Captain Hassan Pashaian should be established. In March, 1916, the Third Armenian Volunteer Battalion, under Hamazasp (Srvantsian), captured an important center on the road to Bitlis. The name of the place is spelled Hizan on the British maps, Khisan on the French ones, while Maslovski called it Khniskala. Many Armenians were liberated there, who then became the core of newly organized regiments. They were reinforced by volunteers from the Hinis (Khinis) and Erzindjan regions. In March, 1918, these effectives participated in rear-guard fighting: these troops were then known as the Khinis Infantry Regiment and the Erzindjan Cavalry Regiment. By the time the Khinis Infantry Regiment, under the command of Captain Helminskii, a Russian officer of Polish origin, reached the old Russian frontier, it had only 137 men left; the regiment was then reorganized and replenished with reserves to put its strength back up to eight companies of 120 rifles each. However, after the engagements near Kars and around Alexandropol, its contingent once again dropped to 200 men. The Erzindjan Cavalry Regiment consisted of approximately the same number of horsemen. The two units were merged and Captain Hassan Pashaian assumed the joint command. The newly formed unit, called a special brigade, was, excepting the liaison detachment and a crew for artillery equipment, practically composed of only these two regiments when it retreated to the railroad station of Ani.

On May 16, 1918, when this group left this station, its contingent, everything included, amounted to 300 rifles and 120 sabers in all. 1

On the eve of the Sardarabad Battle the unit of Captain Hassan Pashaian was stationed in a village called Khiznaus, and was referred to by the group command as the Khiznaus detachment, a unit that was comprised of the remains of the two regiments and reinforced by two field guns.

On the fateful day of the Sardarabad Battle Dr. Melikian was not accompanying Captain Hassan Pashaian. According to his own account, he was sent to contact Maku partisans. These Maku partisans were probably the Composite Maku Regiment formed in Tiflis, which was sent to Alexandropol on April 10th. Melikian's absence accounts for the incompleteness of his narration: the story jumps from the morning of May 22nd to late evening on May 23rd. In the article, printed in Hairenik Amsagir, two sections are concerned with the battle itself and they read as follows:

...Our commanders decided to attract Turkish attention to the center and arrange an encirclement from the left and right flanks. Daniil Bek Pirumian was appointed as chief of the whole sector. Pavel Bek Pirumian was entrusted with the center and Colonel [?] Hassan Pashaian with the right wing, while the left wing was given to partisan and volunteer units.

On the designated day, May 22nd, very severe fighting started: from time to time, our troops entrenched themselves, then rushed at the Turks under a hail of bullets. Rifle shots, machine gun firing, thunder of the field guns made the air vibrate. I stood next to Hassan Pashaian on a hillock. I noticed through my field glasses that our artillery brought losses to the ranks of the enemy.

In the spirited moment of the battle Hassan Pashaian pointed out to me that our Maku Regiment was retreating, and ordered me to join it immediately and to clarify the situation. I left for the point of retreat, and discovered that the Maku Regiment began the withdrawal mistaking us for the Turks. Our cavalry unit outflanked the Turks in order to attack them from the rear. I explained to the Maku men that it was our own cavalry involved there, and that the fighting progressed favorably for us. The retreat was successfully reversed, and the regiment returned to its position facing the Turks.

Even before our regiment entered into action, the partisan cavalry regiment on the left wing, alongside the banks of the Araks, organised a wide encircling movement, and attacked the Turks from the rear. Having caught them unaware, they created a panic among the Turkish troops, who, having lost their countenance, left their positions and fled. This operation decided the fate of the war...

¹ A special report of the Khizan operation exists in the files of Koulébiakine and was used by G. Korganoff and E. Maslovskii in their works. The retreat from Alexandropol is described in the memoirs of Chnéour.

² Journal of Armenian Corps, p. 5.

At the time of my return to the regiment it had already succeeded in advancing and, seeing the retreat of the Turkish forces, started to pursue them. With difficulties did I follow our regiment on my mount.

In the evening, about 5 p.m. the battle ended with our glorious victory.3

The heroes of our victory were General Silikian, Colonel [sic] Daniil Bek Pirumian, Hassan Pashaian, Vekhilian, Dro and others. In the engagement of Sardarabad and Bashabaran about 10,000 men of the following regiments took part:

	Men
4th Armenian Rifle Regiment	1,500
5th Armenian Rifle Regiment	800
1st Partisan Regiment	1,200
Erzindjan Regiment	700
Maku Regiment	300
Battalion of the Headquarters	200
1st and 2nd Van Rifle Regiments	2,500
2nd Cavalry Regiment	700
Zeitun Cavalry Regiment	500
Partisan Cavalry Regiment	800
Special Cavalry Regiment	500
Groups of Smbat, Dali Gaso and Murat	500
4 Artillery with 16 guns.4	

These figures are not realistic. Even more so, since this recapitulation contains units which were, indeed, far away from Sardarabad or Bashabaran, and could not have physically participated in the combat or even served as reserves. Dr. Melikian does not mention his whereabouts in the next days, and there is a serious doubt in the mind of this author whether Dr. Melikian had regained the detachment of Hassan Pashaian at all. It would have been helpful to see his original manuscript. However, there is a very slim chance of finding it: in 1939, a fire destroyed a great part of the archives of the Boston periodical.

The unfolding of intelligence data and straightening out of battle reports has always been a difficult problem. In 1942-1944, the American pilots, returning from bombing raids over Germany, often confused the results in their minds. Under stress visual memory can easily err, and the wrong impression can become a permanent one. Occasionally the pilots of different planes, teams and squadrons showed surprisingly identical aberrations: they would erroneously append flames of a burning town

³ Hairenik Amsagir, 3 (May 1925), p. 73; translated by Professor A. Simeonian.

⁴ Hairenik Amsagir, 3 May (1925), p. 74.

at a site where a town remained intact. The result is somewhat similar to that of two negative films superimposed while being printed.⁵

A military historian, Samuel Lyman Atwood Marshall, touched in several of his works on the subject of combat reporting. In his numerous studies on tactics, leadership, military operations and war reporting Marshall tried to debunk the above aberration theory by mentioning that such reports were mostly faulty military history: the combat portion in them rarely rang true; they were overromanticized, inconsistent with human nature or lacking in decisive detail.⁶

Dr. Melikian can be excused for upgrading Hassan Pashaian and downgrading Daniil Bek Pirumov, as misunderstandings of this kind are common occurrences in wartime reporting. On general lines, Dr. Melikian's story is largely in conformity with the eye witnesses' reports cited before. It must also be kept in mind that in 1925, Dr. Melikian was in Isfahan, and thus could not have proofread the article and corrected eventual mistakes in it because at that time it took three months for letters to reach Boston from Persia, and vice versa.

The reminiscences of Arshavir Vagarshakovich Shakhatuni, which were published after his death, appeared in the *Hairenik Amsagir* in 1959. In his lifetime, Shakhatuni (in the French silent movies his name was spelled Chahatouni) was a star of the Armenian stage and of the Russian silent film industry. In 1913 he joined the Moscow Art Theater where he was helped by Stanislavsky to overcome his heavy Caucasian accent. He signed on at the beginning of the First World War and fought bravely on the Caucasian front and was twice wounded.

After his appointment as commandant of Erivan, no racial disorders erupted there, no prisoner of war was ever molested by the mob. ⁷ In 1920 Shakhatuni helped Dro in his contacts with the XIth Red Army; ⁸ shortly after that he went into exile. In Paris, the coming of the talkies forced him to renounce acting. Instead, he joined the supporting staff and gained

⁵ This information was supplied by Lieutenant-Colonel John M. Harlan. In 1944, he was interrogating the crews after a bombing raid. He is now Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court.

⁶ S. L. A. Marshall, *Battle at Best* (New York, William Morrow and Company, 1963), p. XII.

⁷ Shakhatuni's first wife was the granddaughter of the writer Kh. Abovian. After her death Shakhatuni married Nina Isakovna Melik Agamalova, whose family had had strong ties with Erivan for centuries. She died in France in 1950.

⁸ As the meeting was scheduled to take place in the bitter cold region of Lake Sevan, the author loaned his overcoat to Shakhatuni. A Soviet commander liked the overcoat and Shakhatuni, in a grand gesture (known in the Caucasus as *pesh kesh*), gave it to him.

fame in the world of the theater as make-up man. His last years in France were plagued by an illness which ended his life in 1957.⁹

In a series of articles Shakhatuni gave a colorful account of the events in Erivan as he saw them. With the exception of a few incidents, including some imaginary ones which will be mentioned later in this study, the information given in these articles has no direct bearing on the Battle of Sardarabad.

In the article printed in the August, 1959, issue of *Hairenik Amsagir*¹⁰ the following collateral details can be found, which might help to reconstruct the history of the battle at Sardarabad:

- After the fall of Alexandropol Silikoff's first intention was to retreat, to the marshes located southeast of Sardarabad (known as *Karakhunskia Bolota*).
- Before the Sardarabad Battle Silikoff asked and received from the Erivan Command some reinforcements which consisted of two companies made up of Karabakh and Van volunteers. The latter was a hundred men strong. Furthermore, the Erivan Command supplied 200,000 cartridges and offered to provide additional 100,000 to be obtained from the civilian population.
- The bishops (srbazan) Xoren Muradbekian, Garegin Hovsepian, Tirair Ter Hovannesian, and Zaven Mahtesi-Babaian were with the Catholicos. However, Shakhatuni does not mention Bishop (srbazan) Guevork Cherokchian who was indeed there, being in charge of the administrative duties at the Echmiadzin monastery.
- For the event of a further retreat of the Silikoff units, the Erivan Command built a last redoubt in the suburbs of the town for the final defense of the place. 1,500 civilians were digging the trenches of this defense line. (Still, this author, when he was stationed in the area in May, 1918, did not see any trace of constructions of any kind of fortifications there.)

There is a charming children's tale about the mobilization of the donkeys for war service, told in one of Shakhatuni's articles, ¹¹ which is not given in A. G. Turshian's book about the Battle of Sardarabad. So far no reference to this episode has been found in any of the reports

⁹ Shakhatuni taught his trade to his former aid Hagop Arakelian, who is now the top man in the profession. Whenever the French President appears on TV, Arakelian usually attends to his make-up.

¹⁰ 37 (August, 1959), pp. 21-30.

¹¹ Hairenik Amsagir, 37 (August, 1959), p. 23.

dealing with this period in Erevan. Only A. K. Chnéour made the following remark on page 106 of his second notebook: "... In the plains of Sardarabad our troops suffered terribly from a complete absence of water and the lack of any shade in a heat of 50° [125° Fahrenheit]. When they were available, donkeys brought us water from the railroad line." On the other hand, on a later page Chnéour indicated that all surrounding villages were abandoned by their inhabitants who, when fleeing, took with themselves all their domestic animals and supplies of food.

To this author's knowledge there are no other memoirs left by leading participants in the events of May 23rd. It should be mentioned here that, according to A. G. Turshian, in 1928 the Armenian authorities approached the ailing Foma I. Nazarbekoff with a suggestion that he write the history of the Armeno-Turkish War of 1918. But Nazarbekoff no longer had the strength to do it. He declined the request and recommended instead that Silikoff be entrusted with the task.

It is not known whether or not the suggestion of Nazarbekoff was followed up and the request of Armenian authorities was brought to Silikoff.

Excepting the few letters dated May-September, 1929, which were reproduced in the second edition of Turshian's book, ¹² there is no knowledge of further contributions of historical material by Silikoff, nor do these letters give any really revealing details either about the military developments, or even about the participants of the combat. On the other hand, it was surprising to this author to read in these letters that the Erivan group had three airplanes in 1918. Silikoff probably confused 1918 with 1920, when there were, indeed, three planes but in poor working condition in Kars and in Erivan. ¹³ Though relatively young in age, by 1929 Silikoff seems to have been a very tired man owing to the many trying experiences in his life. It is reported from an Erevan source that he died in 1934 and was buried in Rostov-on-Don. In the Sixties, several cemeteries, including the Armenian, had to give way to new housing projects of the fast growing metropolis.

Among the other leading participants of the combat, Major-General Daniil Bek Pirumov was taken prisoner by the Turks in Kars on October

came from the French base in Saloniki. All of them were in poor working condition, and spare parts arrived only after the end of hostilities.

¹² Op. cit., pp. 256 ff.

¹³ The first airplane sighted in Erivan in 1918 was an Albatross which brought the diplomatic mail to the German Mission. The plane landed in the first days of August. In 1920, the Armenian Army obtained three airplanes from the Allies. Two of them

30, 1920, and taken afterwards to Erzerum. ¹⁴ Major-General K. Araratoff and GS Colonel Vekhilov were captured at the same time, but in 1921 all three of them were released. ¹⁵ While being detained in Erzerum, Bek Pirumov became seriously ill and never recovered fully. He died in 1922 in Armenia and has been buried by *srbazan* Garegin Hovsepian ¹⁶ in the enclosure of the Church of Saint Gayanē. His still unmarked grave ¹⁷ is close to the tombs of the famous Armenian Catholici. In the late Twenties the widow and the two daughters of the general were still living near Chistye Prudy in Moscow. ¹⁸

GS Colonel Vekhilov was probably the same Colonel Vekhilov who distinguished himself in the Second World War and was promoted to the rank of General in the Red Army.

As to Colonel Pavel Bek Pirumov, the former commander of the 5th Armenian Rifle Regiment, he committed suicide with a small Browning in the central public square of Erivan. This event took place at noon on December 5, 1920, that is, two and a half hours before the advanced elements of the XIth Red Army reached the city. 19

Captain Sakelary, commander of the Second Battery at Sardarabad, participated in the recapture of Erivan on April 2, 1921. He was then with Molkachanoff's group, who advanced from Kamarlu. He continued to serve in the Red Army,²⁰ but no additional details on his later career could be found by this author.

Similarly, no data could be found by this author about the fate of the

- Oliver Baldwin, The Questing Beast (London, Grayson and Grayson, 1932), p. 111.
- According to unpublished reminiscences of Hagop Arakelian, dated May 15, 1921, the interim government in Erivan tried to obtain their release earlier without any success. All officers born in Russia, a relative of the author among them, were finally permitted to return to the U.S.S.R. late in 1921.
- He was later elected Catholicos of Cilicia and assumed the name of Garegin I.
 Although the information about the burial place comes from a reliable source, no one on the spot could point out the exact site of the tomb.
- Daniil Bek Pirumov was separated from his wife.
- 19 Lieutenant Hagop Arakelian, then attached to the Commandant's office, arrived at the place only a few minutes after the suicide. According to Oliver Baldwin (Six Prisons and Two Revolutions, New York, Doubleday, Page and Co, 1925, p. 42) the XIth Red Army entered Erivan December 5, 1920 at 2.30 p.m. This date is confirmed by other sources such as A. Stavrovskii, Zakavkazie posle Oktiabria [Transcaucasia since October] (Moscow, 1925), p. 97.
- 20 Sh. M. Amirkharian, Iz istorii bor'by za sovietskuiu vlast v Armenii [From the History of the Struggle for the Soviet Power in Armenia] (Erevan, Haiastan, 1967), pp. 153 and 157. In 1919 Sakelary married an Erivan girl, Shushanik Ivanovna Grigorian. In 1921 they lived in Erivan (2, Bebutovskaia). His name is mentioned in many articles and books dealing with this period, and occasionally misspelled, varying from Sakeliary to Sakelian.

following officers who participated in the Battle of Sardarabad or greatly contributed to its results:

Colonel Dolukhanoff Captain Kolmaniants Colonel Merimanoff Colonel Salibekoff Colonel Tcharukchev

Major-General K. Araratoff commander of the 2nd Artillery Brigade, commander of the 6th Rifle Regiment, aide-de-camp of Daniil Bek Pirumov, commander of the 4th Rifle Regiment, commander of the Zeitun Cavalry Regiment, commander of the 2nd Van Regiment.21

Besides the actual participants in the combat, there were two other persons who, having been close to headquarters, could have provided valuable information about the events: Dro, who died March 8, 1956, and srbazan Guevork Cherokchian, the later Guevork VI, who passed away in 1954.²² Up to the present time no diary, not even short remarks or notes on the events of May, 1918, by Dro or by Guevork VI could be found. In his last years Dro was ill with an advanced case of cancer which immobilized him for over a year before his death in a Boston hospital. As to Guevork VI, he was too engulfed by his inner thoughts and definitely not in a state of mind to revive the past; at least this was the impression gathered by a friend, who called on the Catholicos while Guevork VI was resting in a sanatorium on the Black Sea coast.²³

Had it not been for his premature death, Aram Pasha (Manukian), the former head of the regional government in Erivan, would have been another possible source of information on the events there.

Major-General Andranik's group never operated in the Erivan sector. There is a book containing Major-General Andranik's memoirs which deals with events which took place at the same time as the Sardarabad Battle, but not in the same general area. In these memoirs, dictated to an aide and published in Boston in 1921, he speaks mostly of the opera-

According to Turshian's book (p. 137) the First Battery was commanded by Georgii Khristovorovich Chalokian, the later Soviet General; the Second by Sakelary; the other two by Captain Xoren Egikhanian and Captain Sergo Atanesian. Turshian mentions also the following officers but without naming their respective units: Lieutenant-Colonel Korolkov, Colonel Silin and Colonel Perekriostovyi (p. 248). This author heard that Klich was among the participants in the encounter but, failing to establish his role in it, could not include him in his story. The same is true also with others whose roles during the battle could not be documented.

²² This author travelled with srbazan Gevork Cherokchian in August, 1918. The long and perilous trip gave him the opportunity to get closely acquainted with the future Catholicos.

²³ Guevork VI spent all his energy in efforts to reconcile the Soviet authorities with the Church.

tions in Karabakh. The title of the book, Haikakan Arandzin Harvadsogh Zoramase [The Armenian Separate Striking Division], transcribed by Eghishe Kadjuni, clearly indicates its limited contents.

Another book dealing with the same period of time but with a different background was written by Professor Leo (A. Babakhanian), who had accompanied the Armenian Peace Delegation to Trapezond, and probably also to the Batum sessions, and who wrote many historical treatises. However, his recollections about 1918, called *Anc'ealēn* [From the Past], deal with the developments on the littoral of the Black Sea and do not contain anything relevant to the Erevan zone.²⁴

Since 1968, several popular articles about the Battle of Sardarabad have appeared in Erivan in which the name Bagramian consistently recurs as the name of one of the young participants in the engagement at Sardarabad, whom the authors would like to identify with the later wellknown Marshal Ivan Khristoforovich. There is no doubt in the mind of this author that there may have been a Bagramian (a rather common name in Armenia) in the Armenian ranks at Sardarabad, but it was surely not Ivan Khristoforovich. According to information supplied in Puteshestvie po Sovetskoi Armenii [Travel in Soviet Armenia] by the well known Armenian writer Marietta Shaginian, 25 Bagramian, who graduated from the officers' training school in the spring of 1917, joined the First Armenian Cavalry Regiment after the October Revolution and took part in the defense of Sarykamysh and Kars. The subsequent experiences of the unit Bagramian can be traced through the Journal of the Armenian Corps and the notes of Lieutenant Bogdan V. Eghiazaroff de Nork, then Chief of Staff of the Commander of the First Armenian Cavalry Brigade, Colonel Nicolai Adamovich Korganoff. After the fall of Alexandropol, in the evening of May 15, 1918, the First Armenian Cavalry Regiment was directed to Karaklis. By May 24th this unit retreated to Delijan, where the news of the victory at Sardarabad reached its command and inspired Korganoff to launch a drive to liberate Karaklis, Korganoff, who had under his command the First Cavalry Regiment, one infantry regiment and several batteries, succeeded in reoccupying Karaklis the same evening. On May 26, 1918 the Journal of the Armenian Corps reported the following: "... Simultaneously Colonel

The complete title of the book published in Tbilisi in 1925 is Anc'ealën Huser Talter, Datumner [From the Past, Memoirs, Documents, Opinions]. A microfilm copy exists in the Lamont Library, at Harvard University Cambridge, U.S.A. (W 204).
 Professor Arakel Babakhanian (pseudonym Leo) died November 14, 1932 in Erevan.
 Pp. 178-179 and 296-297 in the edition of Young Guards (Moscow, 1950).

Korganoff attacked frontally and seized the position in the area of height 750. The Turks fled. Our cavalry alone slaughtered 200 men. The losses of the enemy were great. A field gun was destroyed."²⁶

May 30 the Turks recaptured Karaklis and the First Cavalry Regiment, which had been kept in reserve since May 27, retreated along some mountain trails. On June 7th it reached Delijan after having been ambushed by brigands (Armenian bandits) in the mountains, an encounter in which the regiment lost one officer. By then its contingent had shrunk to 35 men.²⁷

There is no doubt in the mind of this author that the future Marshal fought hard, whenever and wherever he had to fight, and that probably he had participated in the cavalry charge described in the Journal of the Armenian Corps. Still, the writers of popular articles should not be carried away by overzealous enthusiasm.

²⁶ P. 21.

²⁷ Reminiscences of B. V. Eghiazaroff de Nork p. 17 (see appendix I).

TACTICS AND LOGISTICS

The disposition of the troops on the eve of the Battle of Sardarabad and the calculation of the commanders can be reconstructed on the basis of the available data.

Moving too fast, the Turkish 11th Caucasian Division failed to maintain proper contact with their other columns, i.e. with the 12th Division in Igdir and the 3rd Division marching on Ashtarak. Cavit Bey expected the main Armenian forces to defend the direct route to Erivan which led through the holy city of Echmiadzin. He calculated that, proceeding alongside the railroad line, his 11th Caucasian Division could link up with the 12th Infantry Division on the banks of the Araks. Thus they would have outflanked the Armenian forces and, with the 3rd Division proceeding from Bashabaran toward the south, caught them in a pincer move. Furthermore, the Turkish command expected that it would be to their advantage if their regular and fully equipped troops could do the fighting on the flat plains of the Ararat Valley since the Armenian troops, composed of insufficiently trained soldiers, would be more exposed in a flat country which is a less convenient terrain for a guerilla-type warfare. These calculations proved to be wrong. Dro firmly held his position halfway between Bashabaran and Ashtarak. Silikoff left weaker elements in front of Echmiadzin while the best regiments composed of seasoned troops were concentrated in one unit able to fight on the plains of Sardarabad. The group commander, a daring general, was assisted by talented aides. The two Van Regiments guarded the southern approaches in the rear. Though their contingents suffered through the desertion of soldiers anxious to find their dispersed families, their military assignment was made easier by the season: in May the Araks is flooded by the melting snow in the mountains and cannot be easily forded, and the two bridges in Karakala and Markara had been rendered unusable.

The previous successes made the Turkish commanders only too sure of themselves, and in their overconfident mood they met the remaining Armenian troops, which were fewer in number but composed of resolute men and under the guidance of experienced officers, who outplayed the superior Turkish forces.

Cavit Bey's column had about 12,000 askers and a 3,000 man strong irregular cavalry composed of Kurdish horsemen, while Daniil Bek Pirumov had, at the best, 6,000 men under his command. After the evacuation of the Turkish territory most Armenian regiments had either several hundred riflemen or 100 sabers. They were reorganized near Kars, and supplemented with reserves. Following the abandonment of Alexandropol, the regimental contingent fluctuated between 150 and 300 men except the 4th, 5th and 6th Regiments which were more substantial units.

On the other hand, the Turkish command had not made full use of its irregular cavalry during the Battle of Sardarabad: the Kurdish mounted units remained in the background until the early hours of May 24th.

The general disposition of the Armenian forces in the Erivan sector was naturally a part of the strategy of Silikoff and his able Chief of Staff Vekhilov. The plan of the battle was the idea of Daniil Bek Pirumov, while Chnéour worked out its technical execution. After the victory, Silikoff halted the pursuit of the Turks at the railroad station of Bogutlu and ordered the troops to be drawn back to avoid a trap.

It would be useless to speculate here whether or not Silikoff was overly prudent in his decision. There is no sufficiently unbiased documentation available to pass a judgement on the question.

After the battle, Silikoff summoned 3 or 4 junior officers from the front line to his headquarters located in railroad cars. G. G. Yablokoff reported on this conference as follows:

...I was among those requested to attend, because I was considered to be one of the officers intimate with his men. We were received by GS Colonel Vekhilov, who explained to us the plan of an offensive, to be undertaken by the whole group not against Alexandropol — which anyway we could not have taken — but to the west of this town, on the line of communication of the Turkish Army operating somewhere in the region of Karaklis. The plan was very interesting, and in case of success could have affected the whole trend — and, perhaps, even the outcome of the whole campaign. But it was also a very risky one. Not one among us — officers from the front line — seriously considered the idea of leaving Erivan without a solid cover. The plan of Colonel Vekhilov was then not executed, and the Armenian victory at Sardarabad remained a success of local importance.¹

¹ Letter of October 12, 1970. See note 25, Chapter III.

Although the victory at Sardarabad was of prime importance to the inhabitants of the Erivan region as well as to the numerous refugees who found safety there, the contemporary press had not given much notice to the event. After the direct wire connections were severed, the Tiflis newspapers carried vague accounts of the military operations in Armenia, usually with a delay. On May 26, 1918, e.g. it reported the engagements around Karaklis. These sporadic news items were given on the basis of intercepted radio messages and of stories brought by refugees. The Armenian National Council itself was not aware of the turn of events in the Erivan sector and, even if it had known of these developments, it had no way of communicating the news to the Armenian Peace Delegation, kept incommunicado in Batum. The Baku press printed much later some delayed stories on the event, the reliability of which was doubtful.

There are no independent sources of information available, no neutral observers were present to give unbiased accounts of the battle. At least in May, 1918, there was not a single person thus qualified in the Erivan region. Only months afterwards, after the Mudros Armistice, which was concluded at the end of October, 1918, did Antoine Poidebard, a French military attaché, reach Tiflis. He wrote then a sympathetic but vague report about Armenian resistance.² As to the dispatches of the British Military Mission in Tiflis, belated as they were, they could not be found among the secret files of the War Office in London when the archives became public.³

The Bulletin of the Soviet Representative in Batum, Comrade Zvereff, gave more factual information. Though it had been prepared much later, its conclusion could be applied in retrospect to 1918.⁴ After supplying a detailed and correct enumeration and evaluation of each unit of the Armenian armed forces in the autumn of 1920, Zvereff added the following comments:

(1) A general opinion about the poor state of combativeness of the Armenian infantry is fully confirmed. Its effectiveness greatly declined after the departure of Russian officers (nationalization).⁵ Under the influence of Bolshevik propa-

² Antoine Poidebard, "Rôle militaires des Arméniens sur le front du Caucase après la défection de l'armée russe (Decembre 1917-Novembre 1918)" in the *Revue des études arméniennes* (Paris, 1920), reprinted by Imprimerie Nationale.

³ Their absence was noticed by Miss Winnifred E. C. Morgan.

⁴ Dated October 25, 1920. The facsimile of the Bulletin is reproduced in appendix F. The extract is translated from the Russian text by this author.

⁵ In the autumn of 1919, all officers were asked either to become Armenian citizens or to resign their commissions. At this time many officers of Russian origin left the service.

ganda desertion increased. Best regiment: the Erivan Infantry Regiment⁶ of the First Infantry Division.

- (2) The combative value of the cavalry is below normal, except for the Yezidis unit.⁷
 - (3) The commanders are excellent.
 - (4) The supply of ammunition is in limited quantity.
- (5) The advance of Kemal's troops and the mobilization hardly affected either the number of soldiers or their disposition.8

- ⁶ Formerly the 5th Armenian Rifle Regiment.
- ⁷ The Yezidis belonged to a religious sect severely persecuted in the Ottoman Empire. Their faith is a mixture of Zoroaster's teaching with elements from the Bible and the Koran. *Bolshaia Sovetskaia Entsyklopedia*, vol. 15 of 1952 edition, p. 491, indicates that in 1926 there were 14,500 Yezidis living in the U.S.S.R. They are mostly found in the Georgian and Armenian S.S. Republics, and are considered to be of Kurdish origin. The same source estimates that over 100,000 Yezidis are living dispersed in the world.
- ⁸ This classified document was intercepted and reached GS Major-General G. G. Korganoff.

DIVERSE INTERPRETATIONS

In the absence of an authoritative history of these troubled times of Transcaucasia (1918-1921), the Turkish version of events gained more ground. Not only were Pan-Turanian aspirations accepted in some quarters as a valid reasoning but, the Armenians being considered a traditional Fifth Column, even atrocities committed by the Turks were found excuses for by some. These misrepresentations finally provoked a series of rebuttals in the Soviet Union, but only after her relations with the Republic of Turkey cooled off.

Among these rebuttals Turkey and Her Expansionist Policy in Transcaucasia (1914-1918) published in 1962 was one of the earliest in this line. Its author, Ervant K. Sarkisian (Sargsean) had access to military archives where he found out about the circumstances of repeated Turkish violations of the armistice arrangements. However, if considered strictly from the point of view of the Battle of Sardarabad, the book has nothing to offer; on the contrary, it could only cause confusion in some data.

Another treatise belonging to the same class of rebuttals, though written in the form of a politico-military survey, would be *Turkey in the Years of the First World War* by Evgenii Feodorovich Ludshuveit. It was published by the Moscow University in 1966 rather as a textbook for history students. The survey is complemented with substantial explanatory notes and a well compiled bibliography. Since the author occasionally bypassed the cited sources, the informed reader wonders whether Ludshuveit really had an opportunity to consult them. His version of the combat around Sardarabad has been discarded by other Soviet historians.

The public sources of information for the period of 1918-1921 are limited. After the October Revolution the old Russian news agency was ¹ Op. cit. pp. 189-190.

disbanded, and was eventually replaced by TASS. Furthermore, during the civil war and foreign intervention and invasion, the newspapers carried their dispatches without a date line or an indication of their provenance. In the writings of the newspapers of this period only the local proclamations or announcements have a historical value, because the other news were usually doctored and reflected rather the mood of the editors than the true state of affairs. With the shortage of newsprint the Transcaucasian newspapers could not afford a large circulation and the few copies of the Tiflis dailies which survived are in a fragile condition. These rarities in public libraries are not available to an unprivileged reader.²

In 1968-1969, several books and articles and even a novel about Sardarabad appeared on the Erevan literary market.³ They added little or nothing to factual history and all of them are rather similar in their approach and presentation of the material, establishing a pattern, or rather a formula, currently referred to as "war of national liberation".

In 1968, the academic periodical of Erevan State University carried an article written in that same vein by J. S. Kirakossian and entitled "Fifty Years Ago (On occasion of the Sardarabad Battle)". The greatest merit of this article is that, after half a century of oblivion, it finally included Daniil Bek Pirumov's name among those of the heroes of the Battle of Sardarabad. On the other hand, Kirakossian paraphrased Larcher's figures about the Turkish effectives on the Caucasian front in the winter of 1917-1918, figures which do not tally with other sources. 5

Speaking of the disarming of the Russian army echelons by the Azerbaidjanians, Kirakossian specified that on a single occasion the natives seized twenty field guns, seventy machine guns and 15,000 rifles, a sufficient quantity to equip a whole division. He, however, fails to point out the grave problem this type of incident meant for the defenders of Baku and of Erivan.⁶

- ² The main West European and American libraries do not possess copies of Tiflis dailies published in May, 1918, like the *Mshak*, *Ertoba*, *Bor'ba*, *Kavkazkoe Slovo*, *Gorizont*, *Tifliskii Listok*, and (local) *Izvestia*.
- ³ Anyait Zinvori Yisatakaranə [Notes of an Unknown Soldier] (Erevan, Haiastan, 1969), by Arthur K. Mkrtchian (H. Mkrtcean). This well written novel has an imaginary political plot with pseudo historical background.
- 4 Vestnik, 2(5) of 1968, pp. 36-53.
- ⁵ According to M. Larcher's *La guerre turque dans la guerre mondiale* (Paris, Berger-Levrault and Cie, 1926) the number of Turkish effectives was fluctuating between 15,000 and 30,000 men in 1917-1918 on the Caucasian front. Pp. 412-425 and 540.
- 6 The Soviet policy is to avoid mentioning any internal racial tension in the Caucasus, past or present.

Although Kirakossian describes vividly the misery of the Armenian population, the situation in 1918 was actually more tragic and more entangled than he presents it. He puts all blame on the politicians, whereas their faults were only one of the many factors contributing to the calamity.

A rather popular article for general reader consumption was printed in the May, 1968, issue of the Erevan monthly called *Soviet Armenia*. Written by a historian, A. N. Mnatsakanian, the article is entitled "The Decisive Battle of the Armenian People". The contains a sketchy description of the engagement at Sardarabad and specifies the Armenian losses during the battle as reaching the 1,800 figure while the Turkish losses he puts at 3,000 dead left on the battlefield. Neither the units involved nor their commanders are indicated in the article. Among the heroes mentioned in the article the name of Sakelary was the only one familiar to this author.

It would be interesting to learn the sources of some of the more romantic details given by Mnatsakanian because the actual events had a more prosaic overtone. No bells were ringing, no volunteers rushed to the front, no appeals were made from the church pulpits in Erivan between May 20 and 26. The battle was fought at a day's walking distance from Erivan. No means of communications existed between the actual battle ground and the town except, on foot, in blazing sun, through the unfriendly villages of the Zangibazar district.

During the week of May 20-26 this author's detachment was stationed in Erivan. It was quartered in the center of the town, in an empty bakery shop on the main street Astafievskaia, now called Abovian. Our days passed with setting up wire connections between different army posts, with drills, with attending our horses and looking for fodder for them. Though army rations were practically nonexistent, the people of Erivan did not let us starve.

Except for the snowy cap of Mount Ararat in the background, there was no colorful décor in Erivan at the end of May of 1918. The almond and peach trees already had shed their blossoms, and the plain towards the Araks was sunbeaten as in the paintings of Sarian.⁸

Professor A. N. Mnatsakanian (Mnac'akanean) is the author and coauthor of several works on the establishing of Soviet supremacy in Transcaucasia.

⁸ The author has "Mount Kotayk" (1926) in mind. This painting is reproduced in Martiros Sergeevich Sarian's memoirs: *Iz moei zhizni* [From my Life] (Moscow, *Izobrazitel'noe Iskustro*, 1970), p. 263, as "Mountains of Gegama". This painting is now part of a New York collection.

For any reader, the staging in the articles of Dr. Melikian and Amurian, both of whom have definite political affinities, as well as in other articles written by Erevan historians with different political convictions, show striking similiarities; the only difference to be found in them is their casts. In all these versions a *levée en masse* is a basic motif, whether it was led by veterans of many raids in Anatolia or by raw youngsters, future members of the forthcoming Armenian Communist Party, the organization of which was brought about in June, 1920.⁹

Some of these descriptions almost seem to paraphrase the First Article of the Decree issued by the French Convention on August 23, 1793: "... Young men will go forth to battle; married men will forge weapons and transport munitions; women will make tents and clothing, and serve in hospitals; children will make lint from old linen, and old men will be brought to the public squares to arouse courage...". 10

The present day scholars seem to have forgotten the wise words uttered by Lenin on several occasions during March, 1918: "In our days wars are not won by mere enthusiasm, but by technical superiority". 11

The resurrection of the *levée en masse* theory in connection with the Armenian resistance seems something of an anachronism, since in the 20th century the resistance to an invader has clearly taken on a form rather different from earlier manifestations. This change could clearly be seen two decades later in Yugoslavia or, on a smaller scale, in France. On D day (June 6, 1944) less than 0.5% of the local population was involved in the activities of the underground. A good half of the French Resistance fighters consisted of Spanish exiles, Communists and Jews, all of whom would have had no chance under a Nazi regime. Furthermore, it should be kept in mind that by then great portions of the French male population capable of bearing arms were either prisoners of war or imprisoned in labor camps in Germany.

The response of the Armenian population to the invaders cannot be truly evaluated until all available data on the question have been thoroughly studied and all possible information sources exhausted.

- ⁹ S. V. Kharmandarian, *Lenin i stanovlenie Zakavkazskoi Federatsii* [Lenin and the establishing of the Transcaucasian Federation] (Erevan, Haiastan, 1969), p. 31.
- Atlas Armianskoi S.S.R. [Atlas of Armenian S.S.R.] (Erevan-Moscow, Akademiya Nauk Armianskoi S.S.R., 1961), p. 108.
- 10 Quoted from Makers of Modern Strategy, edited by E. M. Earle (Princeton University Press, 1943), p. 77.
- ¹¹ Speeches advocating the ratification of the Brest Litovsk Treaty.
- ¹² The estimates were given by Louis Marin (1871-1960), a former French deputy and minister, who bitterly opposed Pétain. Marin escaped from occupied France at the end of May, 1944. The author interviewed him in London on June 2, 1944.

Since 1927, a few writers have found access to the Journal of the Armenian Corps. None of the writers, however, seems to have had access to the files of the Headquarters of the 2nd Armenian Infantry Division or, for that matter, to Daniil Bek Pirumov's report about the operations on May 22-28, which was filed with the Ministry of War in Erivan in mid-August 1918. All these documents should be in existence somewhere in Erevan or in Moscow, but neither has any reference been made to them, nor has any of them been published until now. Yet one would assume that after so many years these military archives could have and should have been already declassified and made accessible provided, of course, that they survived the neglect of the war years, when safeguarding and preservation even of historical archives was, naturally, of rather secondary importance. 15

It is more surprising that most of the writers involved have not consulted the archives of the Armenian Peace Delegation kept in Boston, a part of which fortunately survived the fire of 1939. In the same way, no effort seems to have been made by them to seek out and consult eyewitnesses though, even as late as the early Sixties, this still could have been done effectively.

But even more surprising is, for instance, the case of Amurian who, though he was personally present in Transcaucasia in 1918, in his translation of the Chnéour reminiscences, which he annotated with commentaries, never made any references to his personal experiences there. In addition, the fact that the translation, which appeared in a pamphlet form, ¹⁶ was financed by the California branch of a political association, may prompt the reader to wonder about the objectivity, the true value of Amurian's comments. Nevertheless, certain of his observations we would like to refer to here, not only because they can be confirmed by this author, but also because they do shed some new light on the circumstances of the event involved.

In April, 1918, the Armenian National Council in Tiflis directed all

¹³ Although most of its content is beyond the scope of this study, its text has been reproduced in appendix C, in case all other copies perish.

¹⁴ At the request of his superior, A. K. Chnéour prepared and filed the report in several copies.

¹⁵ Biblioteki Moskvy — Spravochnik — [Guide to Moscow Libraries] (Moscow, Kniga, 1967), gives no clues as to the whereabouts of these documents.

¹⁶ The title of the pamphlet is: Sardarapati herosamarta. Alek'sander K. Snēur Masnakc'oli Yuser t'argmanec': A. Amurean [The Heroic Battle at Sardarabad, Memoirs of a Participant, Alexander Chnéour. Translated by A. Amurian] (Fresno, 1967).

students volunteering for service to be sent to Kars. While any healthy individual could become a partisan overnight, he could not be made an artillery man in a fortnight. Amurian noticed that the inexperienced students had been poorly manning the big guns of the fortress. Ironically, crossing Alexandropol on the way to Erivan on April 18, 1918, this author was present when Stepan Mamikonian, ¹⁷ the well known lawyer and delegate of the Armenian National Council, protested the dispatching of untrained students to Erivan instead of consigning them to Kars.

Amurian's suggestion that the refugees were often better armed than the regular units can be corroborated by this author's own experience. His detachment of 18-20 men had all in all six standard Russian rifles, but the sentinel on duty was the only fully equipped soldier of the company. In July, 1918, during a panic in Echmiadzin, this stock of arms was increased by a dozen of rifles and a Mauser confiscated from deserters and refugees fleeing in a melée. Unfortunately, the newly acquired rifles were of various makes and vintages. 18

Another pamphlet, written in Armenian by A. Astuatsurian, a comradein-arms of Aram Pasha in May, 1918, and published in Beirut in 1966 under the title The Fabrication of the Sardarabad History, 19 reproaches A. S. Turshian for using unreliable material in his study of the battle. 20 Shakhatuni's dramatization of the events, like the imaginary war council under Nazarbekoff in Erivan, with the approaching rumble of the guns becoming louder and louder over the continuous ringing of the church bells, are among the unsubstantiated stories Astuatsurian rightfully objects to. Such exaggerations, particularly if they are not even true, are good for theatricals but not to be made part of expert, factual presentation of historical events. As a matter of fact, the first visit of the Commander in Chief to Erivan took place on May 30, when he crossed the city on his way to the front.²¹ One has to bear in mind that no gunfire of an ordinary field battery stationed beyond the railroad station of Sardarabad could have been heard and no such gunfire was observed on May 23rd in Erivan. As to the bell ringing, Shakhatuni must have confused Erivan with Echmiadzin where the Catholicos called the faithful to a special mass at the time of his visit when accompanying Aram Pasha.

¹⁷ Stepan Mamikonian was one of the lawyers who pleaded for the confiscated property of the Armenian Church by the Imperial Government.

¹⁸ According to the author's diary (entry on July 8, 1918).

¹⁹ Librairie Hamaskaine, Beirut, 1966.

²⁰ A. G. Turshian, op. cit., p. 245, used as a basis Shakhatuni's article in *Hairenik Amsagir*, 37 (June, 1959), pp. 97-98.

²¹ According to the author's diary.

The first local mobilization was proclaimed in the Erivan region at Christmas of 1917, but in a few months' time the mood of the masses greatly changed. On April, 1918, at his arrival in Erivan this author was shocked by the obvious defeatist feeling among the soldiery. It took a lot of energy and knowledge on the part of the officers and the xmbapets to keep their men together. On May 20, 1918, the Journal of the Armenian Corps noted: "... Gen. Silikoff reports the tragic situation of the Erivan group: it is getting impossible to govern the troops anymore...". 22 For some reason or other even historians (Turshian included), when dealing with the Battle of Sardarabad, prefer to follow the poetic fancy of a Michelet²³ rather than to face realities. Besides his rebuttal of Turshian's first version of the Battle of Sardarabad, Astuatsurian wrote a series of articles based on his recollections of the past events. They appeared in different Armenian periodicals abroad, wherever Astuatsurian himself resided. Though some interesting collateral data could undoubtedly be found in these articles, they do not contain any primary information that could bring new light on and clarification of the military events and operations in question. Furthermore, the author's political affiliation suggests careful scrutiny before using any of his information. This author considered a personal interview with Astuatsurian, who until recently was still living in Yugoslavia, but realized that a person of Astuatsurian's age would easily confuse his own experiences with stories heard from others. Such an interview would then only add to the confusion rather than enlighten matters.

A. I. Khatisoff, S. Vratsian and A. Aharonian were three of the leading figures of the Armenian Government during 1918-1920. They left substantial memoirs and studies of the period.²⁴ However, none of them was in Erivan during the critical time of May 15-30, 1918 and therefore their protracted works, even if their political undertone would be discounted, could be of no primary interest to this particular study.

The a priori prejudice the average reader may have against books written by politicians is often well founded, since books, and most memoirs written by politicians, whether active or retired, are only too

²² P. 18. This author's translation.

²³ Author of *Histoire de la Révolution Française* (1847-1853), a literary achievement rather than a scientific work (Chicago University Press, 1967).

²⁴ Among their works the following should be mentioned: A. I. Khatissian *Hayastani Hanrepetutian tsagumn u zargatsumə* [The Creation and Development of the Republic of Armenia] (Athens, 1930); S. Vratsian *Kianki ulinerov: Depker, demker, aprumner* [Along Life's Ways: Episodes, Figures, Experiences] I (Cairo, 1955), II-IV (Beirut, 1966).

often aimed solely at exonerating past and/or present actions and activities of the author even at the cost of objectivity.

Any author with somewhat more serious aspirations has to make his work "a sober, documented, academic form of historical writing", a "shift of explanation away from conscious political intentions". ²⁵ Naming all sources of information used, giving complete and correct references, supplying tables with the new and old geographical names and indexes are all necessary parts of such an effort. In compliance, a brief summary of the material of Chapters II, III, IV, and VI is given here in the attached comparative table. It should help to establish the similarities and the differences in the accounts of the various sources on the given event. The weather indications have been added from this author's diary, as they might be of some assistance in the establishing of the correct date of the event.

From the preface written by Charles Tilly, professor of sociology, University of Toronto, to *The Taking of the Bastille*, by Jacques Godechot, dean of Letters and Humanities at the University of Toulouse (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1970), p. V.

Witnesses' accounts	counts				Military reports		Western historians	8	Soviet historians			
1 Kayaloff's diary May 1918		2 Yablokofi's autobiography 1964	3 Chnéour's notebooks 1922	4 Melikian's articles 1925	5 Journal of the Arm Corps 1918	6 Korganoff's book 1927	7 Allen & Muratoff 1953	8 Hovannisian's St book bo	arkissian's ook 662	10 Mnatsakanian's article 1968	11 Kirakossian's article 1968	12 Turshian's book (2nd ed) 1969
20 Monday; sunny.			Visit of HQ in Echmiadzin; MS ordered reoc- cupy SA.	Retreat to SA on the previous night.	MS reported of the tragic situation in Erivan sector.	TF captured Igdir & continued to advance.	Turks captured Igdir			Turkish avant- gards reached SA and probed Arm line in		Esat Pasha advanced to Bashabaran
21 Tuesday; sumby.	occupation	Turks took st Araks;	Village & st SA reoccupied; TF mauled AT at st Araks	HP went to see MS in the HQ; MS ordered to	MS reported battle started 5 pm & Arm re-	TF attacked at 5 pm AT retreated to	TF attacked SA line; MS kept	TF attacked with 5, 11 & 12 Divisions but AT have not	108 Turkish regiment		5 pm battle started; MS recommended	TF occupied st & village of SA without
22 Wednesday; sunny.	. ₹	the village of SA.	AC ill but ordered back to SA; use of HP's				i	retreated,		-	DBP distinguished himself in the battle.	Organisation of resistance; beginning of
23 Thursday	occupation	Arm counter offensive; victory due	Detailed descrip- tion of the battle & of the flank movement	to contact Maku region 22 & returned	MS reported his attack proceeded so	MS using his last reserves counterattack-	MS recap- tured SA; AT pressed	Savage fight continued till May 24 when TF	Due to the popular heroic	The battle became fierce; MS appealed; it	In the first line of the combat Col	5 Arm reg left in SA was the center of the
sumy.	st Araks	movement; pursuit to be renewed in the	by HP's unit.	of the battle (date not indicated).	İ	day succeeded to break the TF resist-	as far as st Ani and		and struggle the TF were driven		& others.	
24 Friday; sunny.		morning; early night rain.	TF with: drew 50 versts.	Pursuit of TF stopped by orders of MS.	MS reported the success of 23; pursuit	ance on the entire front,	Mastara.	MS appealed to his people to defend the	, back.		MS ordered general advance,	Armenians attacked but stopped by a
25 Saturday; rain.		Continued		TF returned to st Araks but encountered AT & retreated again.	(Karaklis re- occupied 24th); engagement at Markara	-				left 3000 dead on the battle- field.		variment me
26 Sunday; rain. 27 Monday;		pursuit in rainy weather.			TF left st Araks.		Dro counter- attacked	7		3	Arm Nati Council gave FN free hand,	Final battle of SA ended by victory.
rain. 28 Tuesday; sunny.	I occupation a of st	J End of the advance.			(TF outflanked Karaklis.)		toward Basha- baran.	New appeal by MS to free Alexandropol;				
29 Wednesday; rain.	Karaburun and of st st r	(Bxact date not indicat- ed) FN			Reoccupation of st Alageuz,		Dro captured Bashabaran	then stopped.	MS appealed to pursue TF till Alexandropol &			
30 Thursday; rain.	arrival of i	came to decorate the heroes on the battle- field.			Recapture of Talin & of st Karaburun.	Tain & Mastara		*	lars are taken.			
Abbreviations used Arm Armenian(s) AT Armenian tr Cav Cavalry	viations used in the co	Abbreviations used in the comparative table Am Amerian(s) AT Amentian troops Cav Cavalry	HQ HW FN	Headquarters Dr. Hovakim Melikian Fona I. Nazarbekoff	kian off	DBP SA MS	DBP Daniel Bek Pirumov SA Sardarabad MS Moisei Silikoff	nov	RE	Reg Regiment TF Turkish forces		
	Alexander K. Chnéour	ii.	H			st						

WAYS AND MEANS

The author of this study has singled out the battle at Sardarabad from a series of engagements along the entire Caucasian front in full awareness of the fact that in the counterattacks at Bashabaran, Karaklis and Nikitino the Armenian forces had experienced heavier losses and had probably made more sacrifices. Still the author feels that he is justified in his selection since:

- (1) The Battle of Sardarabad was fought separately and according to a preconceived plan.
- (2) A defeat at Sardarabad would have brought a complete collapse of the Armenian resistance, whereas the victory reversed the trend and upset the timetable of the Turks.
- (3) The successful counterattacks at Bashabaran and the momentary recapture of Karaklis were possible only as an aftermath of the victory at Sardarabad.
- (4) It was an outright defeat of an entire Turkish army division.
- (5) It was the first successful operation on the Caucasian front since the February Revolution and as such it became a symbol.¹

The Erivan triangle, saved from a Turkish conquest, contained little arable land. It was mostly a mountainous region, rich in stones, both natural and historical. A paradise for an archeologist, it was definitely not a self-supporting district. In the spring of 1918 its population was rapidly becoming a classless society. The few wealthy people of the area had left it long ago. The refugees had no belongings except their carts, their animals and, naturally, their guns. The merchants had no

In May, 1917 Kemal Pasha reoccupied Mush and Bitlis. Then he was recalled from the Caucasian front and all military activities ceased till January, 1918.

goods in their stores, their empty shops offering a depressing sight. The factories had no raw material, nothing to keep the lone cognac distillery and the few canning enterprises running. The peasants had no grains to seed. The railway employees had no trains to run, no place to commute to.

Paper money decreased rapidly in its daily buying power, and by May, 1918, continuous inflation had leveled almost all distinction between the perpetually poor and the newly impoverished. Gresham's Law made the kerenki² disappear from circulation. In order to replace them and to provide small change for daily use, the Erivan commercial banks issued their own notes in small denominations.³ This emergency currency was printed on paper of very poor quality and a large percentage of these provisional bank notes were never presented for redemption. Nevertheless, they could be used to buy cigarettes (usually made by the vendor at home) or to pay for the bathhouse facilities if and when that establishment operated.

The commanding officers of the Armenian Corps did not belong to the aristocracy or to the well-to-do class. In many instances, they were sons of officers. They all joined the service to advance through hard, devoted work. Some of them even could claim to their credit achievements in the 1877-1878 Turkish War and in the 1904-1905 expedition in Manchuria. But all of them had to (and did) earn their promotions the hard way. Due recognition of their qualities was given by A. Koulébiakine who, in his private report⁴ to M. I. Papadjanov, wrote the following: "... Armenian officers were closer [than Russian officers] in spirit to their men. They knew their own people better and came closer together in army life or in combat...". His opinion was echoed by other testimonies. Indeed, it was only natural that the Armenian units, more homogeneous than any other detachments in the former Caucasian Army (except, perhaps, the Kuban cossack formations), should have displayed a higher "esprit de corps".

In the absence of pertinent statistics, it is difficult to establish the composition of the armed forces taking part in the resistance to the Turks and to decide to what extent they represented a cross section of

² The bank notes, with denominations of 20 and 40 roubles, issued by the Provisional Government were nicknamed after its head, A. F. Kerenski.

Each bank issued notes of only a single denomination.

⁴ Note about demoralization in the Armenian units, dated April 28, 1919, and prepared on the basis of the report of Major-General Morel about the Erzerum-Sarykamysh operation (unpublished, handwritten copy in the files of the author), p. 3.

⁵ Koulébiakine, *ibid.*, p. 4.

the local population. However, the author's own small unit, though not a typical one, may give some vague idea of this question. All twenty men of the liaison detachment were of Armenian origin and all spoke some Russian, otherwise they could not have been assigned to a company working in the communication field:

- 1 commanding officer from a middle class family in Kars;
- 2 noncommissioned officers from artisan families in Tiflis;
- 17 privates:
 - 5 students in Moscow VUZ (sons of a lawyer, a merchant, and a doctor in Rostov-on-Don, a Moscow industrialist, and a merchant in Baku);
 - 2 from middle class families in Novyi Baiazet, junior high school graduates, 18 year of age;
 - 1 kulak⁶ from the Erivan region;
 - 8 landless peasants from the Erivan region;
 - 1 artisan from the Elizavetpol region.

As to the spirit of this small liaison detachment, nobody deserted until well after the armistice. Then the kulak went AWOL for 36 hours using the Colonel's horse. Two landless peasants overstayed their leaves to tend to their fields. Only the two natives of Novyi Baiazet really deserted by the end of July; they were fed up with lack of food, with incredibly hot weather, with bugs and dysentery. At the time of their disappearance the detachment had not received any bread rations for over a fortnight.

The tragic struggle of the Armenian resistance was inadvertently but gravely affected by the role of Andranik. December, 1917, found Andranik in the suburbs of Nor Nakhitchevan. He was not in accord with the majority of the Armenian National Council and withdrew from the struggle. But G. Tchalkhouchian, head of the local Armenian organisation and ardent patriot, persuaded Andranik to change his mind and to return to Transcaucasia to support the crumbling front. In hindsight Tchalkhouchian's successful intervention was a mistake. The legendary guerilla leader's name carried enormous weight with his compatriots but, only recently promoted to the rank of Major-General, Andranik had neither the necessary qualifications nor the necessary training for the leading

⁶ Wealthy peasant farmer.

⁷ The meeting took place at 174, Bolshaia Sadovaia (now Ulitsa of Frederich Engels) in Rostov-on-Don.

of large-scale military operations. He arrived in Erzerum in mid-February, 1918, and it soon became clear that he was out of his element: an old fiery fighter, he now became hesitant, shied away from making important decisions, and avoided keeping contact with his Chief of Staff, GS Colonel Morel and his assistant, GS Captain Chnéour, who both were highly qualified men, and whose advice was indispensable for the commander of the group.

Foma Ivanovich Nazarbekoff, commander of the Armenian Corps, was fifty-nine when he was called back to active duty in 1914. He was a junior officer when he took part in the Turkish War of 1877-1878. As lieutenant of the 13th *Leib Grenaderskii Erivanskii Polk* [Erivan Regiment] he distinguished himself during the capture of Ardakhan. In the Russo-Japanese War he commanded a regiment. After the conclusion of the Portsmouth Treaty in 1905, he retired from the army. In 1915 he gained fame and decorations for his brilliant operations in the Lake Urmia region.

In 1918 GS Major-General Vyshinskii declined a desk job in the headquarters in Tiflis to take on a more inferior position as the Chief of Staff of Nazarbekoff, Commander of the Armenian Corps. Vyshinskii knew the region of Lake Van rather well as he had had several years of experience there during 1915-1916 operations. Though excellent soldiers, both generals were lacking the proverbial military arrogance. So much so, that on a few occasions Headquarters in Tiflis felt it necessary to reproach Nazarbekoff for being too considerate toward the civilian population during the retreats. Nazarbekoff's weakest point, as well as that of his Chief of Staff, was that neither of them spoke Armenian while the troops were by then composed almost exclusively of Armenians, either natives of Transcaucasia or refugees from the Turkish border provinces. In addition to their native tongue, most of the soldiers spoke either one of the Turkish or Azerbaidjanian dialects or Georgian, while most noncommissioned officers conversed fluently enough in Russian. On the other hand most of the senior officers, including K. Araratoff, the future Minister of War, knew hardly any Armenian at all.8

The choice of General Nazarbekoff, a soldier popular with refugees and civilians in general, for the post of the Commander of the Armenian Corps was made by the Armenian National Council. Like many appointments made by a governing body, it was probably a compromise. The

⁸ C. E. Bechhofer (Roberts): In Denikin's Russia and the Caucasus 1919-1920 (London, Collins and Sons, [1921?]), p. 172.

Gerasimovich

first candidate for the position was Iakov minovieh Bagratuni. However, he was arrested in Petrograd shortly after the October Revolution and was released from detention only on December 15, 1917. By then the main appointments had already been made in Tiflis, since in effect the leading military positions could not be left vacant for a lengthy period of time.

Nazarbekoff, a man of the old military tradition, followed faithfully all directives from the main Headquarters in Tiflis. Nevertheless the loss of Kars by treachery, and the fall of Alexandropol caused by a series of confusions cleverly exploited by the Turkish command deeply affected Nazarbekoff's morale, destroying his spirit of initiative. There is no doubt Nazarbekoff had to fulfill his commitment under incredibly difficult circumstances, and one may wonder whether another officer of Armenian origin (and there were many men for the post of the commander such as Gamasoff, Akhverdoff, Ter Akopoff, Arasheeff, Shelkovnikoff, Korganoff, Tigranoff, Ossipov, just to mention a few) would not have been in a better situation to cope with some of the difficulties. 10 Certainly a general of Daniil Bek Pirumov's qualities would have been more suitable under the circumstances, where a good knowledge of Armenian was very desirable if not indispensable. Besides, Daniil Bek Pirumov knew his men well and was not only with them but among them during the storming of Dalan Gez and in the firing line at Sardarabad. Most likely for political reasons, there was some opposition in the left wing of the Armenian National Council to placing a strong personality in a position which was virtually equal to that of Commander in Chief.

In 1917, there were 110,000 to 120,000 soldiers of Armenian origin dispersed in the various military units of the Russian Army.¹¹ The Provisional Government in Petrograd and the Supreme Command (Stavka) in Mogilev were exceedingly slow in authorizing the transfer

Armenians in the Russian Army, May, 1917 100/120,000

Armenians in the Caucasian Army, May, 1917 40/50,000

Armenians on the Western front, May, 1917 30/40,000

Armenians elsewhere, May, 1917 30/40,000

⁹ Appendix A, pp. 89-100, explains the circumstances which prevented Bagratuni and Tigranoff from accepting the commissions. Bagratuni died in England in 1944, as reported by *The Times* of London of January 19, 1944.

¹⁰ After his release from Butyrki in 1921, Gamasoff went to Tiflis to live with his daughter, Valentina. Shelkovnikoff and Ossipov lost their lives in railroad accidents during their deportation to Riazan in January, 1921. I. V. Akhverdoff was shot during a purge, soon after his release from Butyrki.

¹¹ According to Appendix A, p. 90, the number of Armenians mobilized since 1914 was 180/200,000, and their distribution as follows:

of Armenians to military units operating on the Caucasian front. After the October Revolution the disruption of normal railroad communications further handicapped the repatriation or the transferring of Armenian soldiers to Transcaucasia. In the beginning of 1918 the Soviet authorities had not opposed such repatriation; they even tried to facilitate it to the point of authorizing the use of the empty hospital trains returning to the Caucasian front to pick up the wounded or the sick soldiers for repatriation of Armenian fighting men. Several thousand natives (or selfdeclared natives) of Transcaucasia benefited from the decree referred to in Chapter III. Many former political prisoners, as well as a few common criminals, took advantage of this opportunity and joined the echelons in order to secure themselves transportation for the last leg of their long journey from Siberia to their homeland. Soon, however, the above decree became a dead letter because the local revolutionary organizations refused to recognize it. After March 26, 1918, this repatriation was discontinued because 38 travellers, mostly of Georgian origin, were shot in Armavir. 12 Bound for Tiflis, they carried bona fide permits issued by the Soviet authorities in Moscow. However, the homeward-bound Russian units of the Caucasian Army refused to recognize these permits after their own bitter experiences in Azerbaidjan. This expediency decree directly clashed with the ideological propaganda among the armed forces on the Caucasian front, and as such was quickly forgotten and quietly disappeared from the books.

The number of Armenians living within the 1914 borders of the Russian Empire was estimated at approximately two million. Later, in the 1915-1917 period, the Armenian population in Transcaucasia alone exceeded 1,750,000, owing to the large influx of refugees from Anatolia. 13

In May 1918, the unconquered Erivan triangle had 750,000 inhabitants, including 300,000 displaced persons, the number of whom was soon greatly reduced by the famine and epidemic of the winter of 1918-1919. As much as 88% of the population of this area was of Armenian origin,

Armenians in the Russian Empire in 1914 2,054,000 1,700,000.

Armenians in Transcaucasia in 1914

¹² Dokumenty i materialy po vneshnei politike Zakavkazia i Gruzii [Documents and Materials re Foreign Policy of Transcaucasia and Georgia] (Tiflis, State Printing Office, 1919), pp. 190 and 212.

Zourab Avalishvili (Avaloff), The Independence of Georgia in International Politics 1918-21 (London, [1935?]), pp. 14-18.

Atlas of the Academy of Science of Armenian S.S.R. (see note 9, chapter VI). gives the following figures in the Russian edition on p. 58:

i.e. a minimum of 660,000 persons were Armenians. (Some writers estimated the influx of refugees higher and arrived at a larger total figure.)¹⁴

The 12,000 soldiers who stood at Silikoff's disposal in May, 1918, represented less than 2% of the Armenian population of the unconquered triangle, 1.8% to be exact. The Battle of Sardarabad was won by a mere 6,000 men. That is less than one per cent of the population of the region or one quarter of one per cent of the total of Armenians in the former Russian Empire in 1918.

The famous words, uttered in another connection by Churchill some 22 years later, could be well applied to this episode: "Never in the field of human conflict has so much been owed by so many to so few." 15

Even before the February Revolution, the Armenian volunteer battalions were being gradually transformed into regiments and formed into separate units. The Stavka finally agreed that all military personnel of Armenian origin, upon termination of home leave or upon discharge from a hospital, should be directed to the Caucasian front. Though, in principle, the formation of an Armenian Corps was approved, the realization came more slowly. The Provisional Government in Petrograd was afraid to establish a precedent of forming separate units composed of members of a national minority group. The Stavka was also anxious to preserve its trained armed forces intact. On the political scene the conservatives abjured all efforts with even the slightest trace of separatist possibilities, while the left looked with suspicion upon any new lineups undertaken under the guidance of professional officers. At the same time the Armenian National Committees were too timid and lost much precious time.

When the Stavka finally sanctioned the organization of the Armenian Corps, the order had not much practical value anymore, as it was issued November 17, 1917;¹⁶ by then millions of Russian soldiers had abandoned

¹⁴ The population of the Province of Erivan in 1914 was 1,120,000 of whom 661,000 were classified as Armenians, 373,000 as Tatars, and 86,000 as various. According to the Armenian National Council, after the fall of Kars, Batum and Alexandropol in 1918, a new wave of refugees came, followed by another in 1920.

Kirakossian estimated the number of the displaced persons at 700/800,000. A. Bekzadian in *Zhizn' Natsionalnostei* [Life of Nationalities], a publication of the People's Commissariat for the Affairs of Nationalities in Moscow, gives the following figures in the first issue, vol. 1, 1923, pp. 161-166:

Refugees from Turkey to Armenia 350,000
Refugees from Azerbaidjan to Armenia 100,000
Refugees from Kars no figure
Refugees settled in Armenia 350,000.

¹⁵ Memoirs of General Lord Ismay (New York, Viking, 1960), p. 182.

¹⁶ The Armenian Corps was finally created on November 30, 1917; appendix C, p. 109

their units on the different fronts and were streaming homeward. Neither was there a strong Caucasian Army left. In this atmosphere it was humanly impossible to maintain the ranks of the Armenian echelons intact, and they thinned down as they approached their home towns.

In Tiflis the Georgians watched with mistrust the forming of the new Armenian units. Their highly geared propaganda against all defense operations and mainly against any formation of national units greatly affected the Armenian echelons crossing Tiflis. Though only a few of the enthusiastic youths abandoned their units, most of the middle-aged soldiers stayed with their echelon only until they reached the proximity of their native villages. It takes many drops to form a lake says an old Armenian proverb, and only trickles reached Kars and Erivan.¹⁷

The endless front, stretching from the Black Sea to Persia, which was previously held by a well-supplied Russian Army, became the charge of a handful of volunteers. And perhaps the most difficult part of the task was to keep the men together in a receding tide. No objective study can bypass the question of desertion of Armenian soldiers, who sought to return to their native villages or to set out in search of their dispersed families. No historian can ignore the entries of the Journal of the Armenian Corps or the reports of the eyewitnesses. ¹⁸ The officers had to be veritable geniuses to be able to operate, let alone to achieve victories with such fluid elements: not a completely unusual phenomenon in revolutionary upheavals. For instance, after July 14, 1789, the contingents of the French Revolutionary armies became very unstable. Still, the Generals Charles François Dumouriez and François Christopher Kellerman marshalled their troops and won the battle of Valmy

¹⁷ Another version of the same proverb says: "Drop after drop and a lake is formed": *Armianskia poslovitsy i pogovorki* [Armenian Proverbs and Sayings] (Moscow, Nauka, 1959), p. 22.

¹⁸ A. Koulébiakine prepared for M. I. Papadjanov a lengthy report on demoralization in the Armenian units, which was based on Morel's dispatches, and dated April 28, 1919. It ends with the following paragraph:

[&]quot;...In this last feverish struggle the Armenians were left alone with their own resources, and nobody wanted to help... How could the Armenian soldiers react to all of this? They realized the unstable general situation, and they were drawn to their families' homes menaced by the Tatars: these ignorant masses, discouraged by continuous failures, did not give a damn about the front". (Extract taken and translated by the author from a signed copy of Koulébiakine's report which is in the author's possession.)

on September 20, 1792.¹⁹ The first victory of revolutionary France over its adversaries greatly surprised the whole of Europe. The same evening, when it was all over, Goethe, who participated in the engagement in the ranks of the foe, remarked to his companions: "From this place and from this day forth commences a new era in the world's history."²⁰

The Battle of Sardarabad was likewise a turning point in the Armenian Saga.

¹⁹ Général Weygand, Histoire de l'Armée Française (Paris, Flammarion, 1938), pp. 201-206. R. E. and T. N. Dupuy, The Encyclopedia of Military History (New York, Harper and Row, 1970), p. 679. The Allies' defeat at Valmy was so unexpected that it provoked rumors that their Commander in Chief, the Duke of Brunswick, may have been bribed by Danton. Chapter XI of Robert Christophe's Danton (London, Barker, 1967).

²⁰ Goethe's World, edited by B. Biermann (New York, New Directions, 1949), p. 198.

EPILOGUE

The limited objective of this study is to resurrect some of the factual data about the Battle of Sardarabad and its participants. With this goal in mind the author of this monograph did not let himself be affected either by former affiliations or by the subsequent activities of the *dramatis personae* of May 23, 1918. Their names and their deeds should survive as well as the handsome monument on the battlefield, erected in 1968.

A further aim of this study is to facilitate future research and this end has been served by offering in the Appendix a collection of primary source material until now not available to the students of Armenian history of this period. So far, one thing that can be clearly established from the primary sources is the fact that the victory at Sardarabad was achieved by a few determined men fighting it out in a regular military combat.

The spirit of the men who fought in the Sardarabad Plains can be recreated from a special report prepared for the United States Congress by the faculty of Georgetown University. The section dealing with it reads as follows:

... It was a last-ditch fight and the Armenians made their stand.

Fighting with ferocity born of desperation, the Armenians halted the Turkish advance in three decisive battles. These engagements took place between May 23 and May 28 at Karaklissa, Bash Abaran and Sardarapat. General Nazarbekian, the commander in chief, directed the first battle; the second was commanded by General [?] Dro, and the third was led by General Silikian. The Battle of Sardarapat, in particular, was the most stubborn and bloody, very costly for the Turks. General Silikian now gave the order to march on Alexandropol when news arrived from Batum that peace had been signed and the war was over.

Simultaneously with these engagements, the Turks were desperately trying to enforce their harsh terms before the outcome of the battle, if possible.¹

¹ House Report No. 2684, Part 8, Union Calendar No. 929, 83rd Congress, 2nd session (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1955), pp. 4 and 5.

EPILOGUE 79

It is easy to understand why the Turks tried to conceal their setback on the Erivan approaches. But it is rather hard to explain why the victory received no publicity in Tiflis, why it was so underplayed and almost suppressed for a long time. It would be presumptuous to try to give an answer without a deep study of this particular aspect of the question. Meantime the following points could be advanced as a possible explanation:

- (1) After mid-May no direct communication existed between Tiflis and Erivan. News trickled through Delijan which was swamped with retreating troops and exhausted refugees.
- (2) The news of the victory at Sardarabad probably reached Tiflis after the second reverse of events at Karaklis, when fresh Turkish reserves recaptured the town.
- (3) The Armenian National Council was preoccupied with the immediate danger threatening the Armenian population in Tiflis proper, after the Turks captured Abastuman and menaced Borzhom.
- (4) Nazarbekoff himself was not sure that the success at Sardarabad had reversed the trend of the military operations.

The Armenian National Council had practically no way of keeping its representatives in Batum posted about the military operations on the fronts. But even if the Council had been in full knowledge of the victory at Sardarabad, its messages to that effect to Batum would have surely been intercepted somewhere along the line. Last but not least, after the harsh terms of the Batum Treaty were made known, it would have been unwise for the National Council to publicize military successes which took place about ten days before the signature of the Treaty.

Even usually well informed Armenian circles were not aware of the importance of the success at Sardarabad. G. Tchalkhouchian wrote in his Le Livre Rouge a single phrase about the engagement. In translation from the French it reads as follows: "... At the station of Sardarabad, the Turks sustained cruel losses and were obliged to fall back toward Alexandropol".²

The blackout on this subject prevailed even in 1926, when Larcher, a French military historian, published an adequately documented book about the military operations of the Turkish Army and its adversaries in

² G. Tchalkhouchian, Le Livre Rouge (Paris, Veradzenount, 1919), p. 80.

80 EPILOGUE

1914-1918. Larcher's work, La guerre turque dans la guerre mondiale, totally ignored the Battle of Sardarabad.³

A quarter of a century later Firuz Kazemzadeh, in his important study of *The Struggle for Transcaucasia (1917-1921)*, reserved one single imprecise phrase for the resistance in the Erivan sector: "... In the direction of Alexandropol and around Nakhjavan Armenian volunteers continued to resist the steadily advancing Turks."

With the exception of the Armenian press in diaspora, no foreign accounts recognized the importance of the engagement at Sardarabad until the publication of *Caucasian Battlefields* in 1953. The scholarly book of Allen and Muratoff was analyzed in an earlier chapter.

In the years when competition between West and East was strong, each wanting to win Turkey to its side, it would have been poor politics to revive the controversial past. After the Republic of Turkey joined NATO in 1952, Soviet historians became more outspoken. The smoke-screen was dispersed somewhat on the fiftieth anniversary of the Battle of Sardarabad, which was celebrated in Soviet Armenia. This occasion provoked a number of publications on the subject. However, the majority of these works were not sufficiently documented.

Some historians put more emphasis on the interpretation of the events rather than on the reports of "a by-stander, or a copyist of materials, (or) a collector of evidence which has fallen into his hands". In the case of the Battle of Sardarabad, which has been left too long in obscurity, even the smallest piece of evidence is precious. Without a careful study of all such material a student of history can entangle himself in a maze of premature interpretations and place the cart before the oxen. ⁶

An old saying reminds us that "truth is all we owe to the dead". It would be appropriate to add here the words of S. L. A. Marshall: "... the great victories... have pivoted on the acts of courage and intelligence of a very few individuals". 8

³ Commandant M. Larcher, op. cit., p. 420.

⁴ F. Kazemzadeh, *The Struggle for Transcaucasia* (1917-1921) (New York, Philosophical Library, 1951), p. 124.

⁵ Contemporary History in the Soviet Mirror (New York, Praeger, 1964), p. 199 as quoted by A. Ulam from Voprosy Istorii [Problems of History], March issue of the Moscow magazine in 1957.

⁶ The French version of this 14th century proverb is current around the Mediterranean.

Often attributed to Voltaire but no trace of it has been found in Voltaire's works or correspondence by Professor Richard A. Brooks.

⁸ S. L. A. Marshall, Men against Fire (New York, William Morrow and Co., 1947), p. 208.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

NOTE ON THE FORMATION OF THE ARMENIAN UNITS OF DECEMBER 20, 1917 O.S.

ОЧЕРКЪ РАЗВИТІЯ ВОПРОСА О РАЗВЕРТЫВАНІИ АРМЯНСКИХЪ ВООРУЖЕННЫХЪ СИЛЬ БЪ ПЕТРОГРАДЪ ВЪ 1917 году.

22-10 мая по иниціативъ подполковниковъ I.6. Тигранова и Н. А. Меликъ- Парсаданова и Г. П. Дж. Јевоняна, получившихъ весьма тревожныя свъдьнія съ Кавказскаго фронта, была образована подъ предсъдательствомъ генеральняго штаба генераль- маїора Ј. Ө. Тигранова Армянская военная помиссія, въ составъ которой вошель, кромъ указанныхъ лицъ также Л. О. Назарьянъ.

номиссія эта возложила на себя выреботку условій пля скорійшаго осуществленія дельнійшаго развитія и развертывенія Армянскихъ вооруженныхъ силъ и организованное содійствіе фактическому проведенію діла.

За основаніе для расчетовь было принято то соображеніе, что за время войны отъ Армянь призвано около 180-200 тысячь человькь, изъ которыхь из маю мьсяцу 1917 года нафронтахь и въ тылу имьлось около 100-120тысячь. Всльдствіе этого Комиссія пришла из заилюченію о полной возможности развитія и развертыванія имьвшихся шести Отрыльныхъ Армянскихъ стрылковыхъ батальоновъ по ирийней мърв въ цылай армейскій корпусь со всьми техническими войсками и вспомогательными учрежденіями, казанныя 100-10 тысячь Армянъ военнослужащихъ предполагались распредыленными такъ: 40-50 тысячь на Кавказъ и Кавказскомъ фронть; 30-40 тысячь на западномъ (Европейскомъ) фронть и 30-40 тысячь во внутреннихъ и восточныхъ военныхъ округахъ.

военные члены Комиссіи, какъ спеціалисты, распредълили между собою дальнъйшую разработку вопроса, при чемъ на генерала 1. 9. Тигранова легла задача общаго руководства, разработка условій сосредоточенія Армянъ военнослу. . .

кащих на Кавиазі, а также вопросы с штатах піхоты, кавалеріи, штабовъ, управленій, учрежденій и заведеній; на подполжовника І. Є. Тигранова - штаты артиллеріи, и на подполжовника Н. А. Неликъ- Парсаданова - штаты инженерныхь войскъ.

Считая необходимымъ выяснить прежде всего отношеніе временнаго Правительства къ общему вопросу о развитіи Армянскихъ войсковыхъ частей, Комиссія ръшила представить военному министру составленную генераломъ л. Э. Тиграновымъ особую записку съ изложеніемъ общей схемы развертыванія Армянскихъ вооруженныхъ силъ и сосредоточенія Армянъ военнослужащихъ на Кавиазъ. Вслъдствіе чрезвычайной разбросанности офицеровъ, врачей, чиновниковъ, кикеровъ и всякихъ категорій солдатъ Армянъ по многочисленнымъ частямъ и учрежденіямъ, послъдній вопросъ представлялся особенно сложнымъ.

Въ цълять обезпеченія общественно-неціональнаго характера предполагаемему виступленів и согласованія отдъльнить моментовъ. Армянскаго возниаго вопроса съ общимъ теченіемъ Армянской политической мысли записка генерала л. в. Тигранова была предварительно представлена 25-го мая на разсмотръніе комитеть при Петроградскомъ Армянскомъ Крухскъ. Въ засъденіи 25-го того же мая комитеть согласился съ виработанними военнов комиссіем началами и для установанія постоянивго контакта съ возниклем организацієм включиль въ ея составъ двухъ своихъ членовъ, н. Г. Адонца и и. х. Заврієва въ токъ же засъданіи комитета была

кі въ задачи комитета входять: вопросы политическіе, общегосударственные, общевавказскіе и національные, какъ русско- армянскій, такъ и турецко- армянскій, а также во-просъ "о Врзстановленіи Арменіи" (См. кратиую записку о лът. Петроградско- Армянскаго Кружка съ 1 окт 19161. по 1-ос октября 19171.

[|] xx | Въ субботу, 27-го мвя, членъ Комитета А.З. Саруканянъ въ присутствій многочисленныхъ членовъ и гостей круж кан привътствовалъ образованіе Армянской Военной Комиссіи, имъщей цълью защиту физического существованія націи и созданіе реальной силы для опоры во время мирныхъ переговоровъ о судьбъ Арменіи.

[|] xxx | Подполковникъ I. в. Тиграновъ и П.Дж. Левоньянъ так-

избрана делегація къ Военному и Морскому Министру А. Ф. Керен скому въ составъ гг. Л. Атабекяна, 1. 6. Тигранова, Л. О. Назаръяна и И. Х. Заврієва.

31-го мая делегація эта, къ коророй въ Маріинскомъ дворцѣ примкнулъ Г. Г. Евангуловъ, представила министру упомянутую выше записку о развертываніи Армянскихъ вооруженныхъ силъ до четырехъ дивизій и объ условіяхъ укомплектованія ихъ людьми. А. Ф Керенскій отнесся къ дѣлу вполиѣ благожелательно; одобрилъ всѣ соображенія, изложенныя въ запискѣ, высказался лишь противъ выдѣленія Армянъ изъ Западнаго фронта и просилъ "шума не дѣлать." | х

На слідующій день послі свиданія съ А. Ф. Керенскимъ, на засъданіи Комитета предсідателемъ его, Н. А. Адонцемъ не охиданно для военныхъ членовъ Комиссіи былъ поставленъ вопросъ о полномъ упраздненіи Армянской Военной Комиссіи,

же были членами, а Л. О. Назарьянъ - секратаремъ комитета, но они были независимыми отъ комитета учредителями военной комиссіи. П. Дж. Левонянъ вскоръ вывжаль на Кавказъ; въ это же время въ-составъ комиссіи быль приглашень прибывній съ западнаго фронта и получивній въ началь і юни) назначеніе въ кабинетъ военнаго шимстра, генерельнаго штаба генераль-маі-оръ Я. Г. Багратуни, который затъмъ, до своего ареста, проявляль живой интересъ къ Армянскому военному дълу, но съ упраздненіемъ Военной Комиссіи вынужденъ былъ, какъ и другіе члены ея, ограничиться ръшеніемъ сдучайныхъ вопросовъ.

[|] х| Это было время образованія украинскихъ частей, и общественное мижніе въ Петроградъ и Великороссіи относилось отрицательно къ стремленію украйны къ самоопредъленію. А.Ф. Керенскій, раздълавшій это мижніе, подчеркнулъ свое убъхденіе, что у большинства Армянъ оріентація русская, чъмъ и объясниль свое исключительно положительное отношеніе къ Армянскому военному вопросу. Было ясно, что просьбу Министрашинскому военному вопросу. Было ясно, что просьбу Министрамянскому военному вопросу. Было ясно, что просьбу Министрамянскому военному вопросу. Было ясно, что просьбу Министрамянскому военному вопросу. Было ясно, что просьбу Министрамяни къ выводу, что "діле: то ділать". Очевидно Министръ не могъ думять, что офиціально объявленная делегаціи санкція можеть долго оставаться тайною, ибо Армяне-военнослужщіе должны были тысячами отправляться на Кавказъ, а этому должно было предшествовать расторяженіе по всёмъ частямъ войскъ, управленіямъ и заведеніямъ обширной Россіи.

[|] xx | При выход отъ Министра И. Х. Заврієвъ говарищъ
предсъдателя Комитета и Л. О. Назарьянъ ісекретарь Комитета | опередали остальныть членовъ делегаціи съ исключительном быстротов и умлонились отъ обсужденія вопросовъ, возбужденныхъ на вудіенціи; своимъ поведеніемъ они дали основаніе предположенію, что рашеніе президіумомъ Комитета о полномъ упраздненіи Военной Комиссіи, было инспирировано ими.

въ виду якоби того, что она уже выполнила свор задачу.
Поддержанный военными членами Комиссіи и членами делегаціи
въ томъ числъ г. Атабежяномъ за исключеніемъ И. Х. Завріева и Л. О. Назаръяна, предсъдатель военной Комиссіи указаля
въ свою очередь на недопустимость упраздненія Комиссіи, которая иъ выполненію своихъ задачъ даже не приступале, ибо
только теперь, по полученіи опредъленной и благожелательной
санкціи Военнаго жинистра и должна была приступить къ энергичной дъятельности именно по слъдующей программъ:

- П. Въ качествъ полномочнаго общественно-національнаго органа Военная Кемиссія должна войти въ ближайшій контактъ съ Главными управленіями Военнаго Министерства для выработки согласно санкціи Министра ряда соотвътствующихъ распоряженій, каковыя безъ давленія организованнаго національнаго представительства слъдовали бъ несомижню путями обычной канцелярской волокиты.
- 21. Комиссія должна образовать въ центрахъ военныхъ округовъ и въ главнъйшихъ промежуточныхъ пунктахъ |Ростовъ и другіе | особые общественно-національныя военныя организаціи для надзора за ходомъ осуществленія на мъстахъ распоряженій военнаго министерства и Содъйствія сбору и отправиъ на Кавиазъ Армянъ-военнослужацихъ.
- 21. Комиссія должна разрішать многіє вопросы, связанныє съ лілочь Армянской военной программи и восходящіє до центральной власти, въ частности же въ ближайшемъ будущемъ вопросъ о сформированіи къ концу літа Армянскаго корпуса.

Незначительнымъ большинствомъ голосовъ, довърившихся

Серьезность подробной мотивировки можеть быть оцанене, если имъть въ виду, что Военяел Комиссія съ 25-го мая
нене, если имъть въ виду, что Военяел Комиссія съ 25-го мая
ногда была кооптирована. Комитетомъ, до 1-го іюня ни въ чемъпроявить себя не успъда. Эту же нельпую мотивировку Н. Г.
Адендъ не постъсняяся повторить 2-го декабря 1917 г. предъ
общить собраніемъ кружка, несмотря на проявившуюся очевняность, что именно отсутствіе немпетентнаго дриянскаго военность, что именно отсутствіе немпетентнаго дриянскаго военнать органа задержившего стодь немъходимое широкое разгертываніе дриянскихъ вооруженныхъ силъ.

- 5 -

президіуму, Комитетъ постановиль однако расформировать Армянскую Военную Комиссію. Такимъ образомъ, проявившуюся иниціативу зъ этомъ насущномъ діять Армянской хизни Комитетъ ликвидироваль и никакихъ другихъ силь для этого не видвинулъ, оставивъ такое діло безъ общественно-организованнаго представительства и безъ отвътственнаго веденія. Въ связи съ этимъ единственный съ военнымъ образованіемъ членъ Комитета, подполковникъ І. Ө. Тиграновъ заявилъ о своемъ виходів изъ Комитета, письменно и подробно мотивировавъ свой уходълиніей поведенія президіума Комитета, наносящей вредъ національному ділу, и просилъ заявленіе его довести до свідінія кружка, чего однако Комитетомъ сділано не било.

Въ серединъ іжня воспосльдовало затымъ сепаратное и несогласованное съ предположеніями упраздненной Военной Комиссім выступленіе въ Петроградь и Ставкь прибывшаго съ Кавказа съ письмомъ нъ Военному Министру отъ членовъ Особаго Закавиазскаго Комитета Хардамова и Пападжанова, полковника Бежанбекова, окончательно исказившее планъ Военной Момиссіи Резолюція Военнаго Министра, А. Ф. Керенскаго, на указанномъ выше, представленномъ Жинистру полковникомъ Бежанбековымъ письмъ резолюція вполнъ согласованная съ первоначальною ЗІ-го мая саницією Министра: "признаю своєвременнымъ безотлагательное развертываніе Армянскихъ стрёлковыхъ батальоновь въ полки и сформированіе изъ нихъ дивизій", переданная немедионно, благодаря содъйствію генерала Я. Г. Багра туни, въ Ставку осталась вследствів единоличнаго выступленія полковника Бежанбекова далеко не въ должной мъръ использованнов. Вывсто многодивизіоннаго Армянскаго корпуса, въ составъ котораго должны были бы влиться Армяне-военнослужащіе изъ Россіи, полковникъ Бежанбековъ удовлетворидся исходатайствованіемъ въ Ставкъ приказа Верховнаго Главнокомандующаго э формированім одной Арминской бригади изъ шести двухбатальонных полковь, развертиваемых изъ существовавшихь шести Армянскихъ стрълковихъ батальновъ влитіемъ въ нихъ только кавказскихъ укомплектованій. Расформировавь неділи за I 2 до прівзда полковника Бежанбекова Армянскую Военную

- 6 -

Комиссію, Комитеть не иміль уже компетентнаго органа для согласованія и цілесообразнаго направленія діятельности отдільнихь лиць или даже представителей містнихь учрежденій, далеко не въ полной мірі освідомленнихь о теченіяхь, возникшихь въ центрі; а въ данномь случав Военная Комиссія, опираясь также на свою общественно-національную основу могла бы авторитетно и отвітственновыступить, воспользовавшись миссіею полковника Бежанбекова и вилючивь его самого въ свой составь. Діло было въ корні испорчено, а благопріятнійшая коньюнитура для рішенія вопроса не была использована и можеть быть потеряна навсегда.

Во второй половинъ івля возвратился съ Кавказа П. Дж. Левонянъ, крайне неодобрительно отнесшійся къ расформированів Военной Комиссіи. По его просъбъ генералами Я. Г. Багратуни и Л. Ө. Тиграновинъ была составлена новая записка о дальнъйшенъ развертиваніи Армянскихъ вооруженныхъ силъ, которая 4-го августа представлена новому Военному и Морскому Мянистру, Савинкову Лослъдній, какъ обнаружилось впослъдствіи, отнесся къ дълу далеко не съ тъмъ доброжелательствомъ, какъ его предшественникъ, и направилъ записку на заключеніе Ставки. Послъдняя въ свою очередь запросила Главнокомандующаго Кавказскимъ фронтомъ, который отозвался отрицательно. Вслъдствіе этого, клопоти по этому вопросу командированнаго 23-го августа ва Ставку подполковника Н. А. Меликъ-Парсаданова не увънчалась успъхомъ - ходатайство Ставкою было откленено.

Рядъ лётнихъ неудачъ - какъ результатъ необъединенныхъ, недисциплинированныхъ и некомпетентныхъ въ идет и техникъ военно-политическаго дъда выступленій - вновь выявилъ крайнов необходимость имъть въ Петроградъ такое компетентное національно-военное представительство, зависящее въ разръшеніи общихъ вопросовъ отъ Центральнаго Армянскаго установленія, съ которимъ считались би какъ министерство, такъ и Ставка. Прівздъ въ Петроградъ Помощника Генералъй Комиссара Арменіи, Я. Х. Завріева, его особая заинтересовенность въ условіямъ реальной политической дългельности - дали возможность вновь востявной политической дългельности - дали возможность вновь востявной вить этотъ вопросъ. Передъ тімъ Помощнику Генералъ- Комиссара

- 7. -

Арменіи быль отарактеризовань генераль Я. І. Багратуни макь прекрасный Армянинь, какь отличный генераль Іенеральнаго штаба и какь способный военно-политическій дъятель, установившій
коровія отношенія со многими членами временнаго Правительства
и видными политическими дъятелями. Во время созыва въ Тифлись
Армянской Національной Конференціи, Я. Х. Заврієвь подняль въ
соединенномь засіданім представителей партій, организацій,
перковнаго Совіта и Комитета вопрось о необходимости учрежденія должности Армянскаго военнаго Комиссара и предложиль въ
кандидаты на эту должность генерала Я. І. Багратуни. Вопрось
и кандидатура были приняты и сообщены по телеграфу на уваженіе Конференціи.

Въ серединъ октября чаціональная конференція единогласно избрада генерада Я. Г. Багратуни Армянскимъ военнымъ Комиссаромъ, что затъмъ было признано временнымъ Правительствомъ. Но генералъ Багратуни успълъ только пригласить въ члени Совъта при Армянскомъ Военномъ комиссаръ нъсколькихъ дицъ Генерала л.е. Тигранова, подполковника Н.А. Меликъ-Парсаданова и Е.М. Теръ-Погосяна т.к. черезъ десять дней, 25-10 октября совершиеся переворотъ, въ связи съ которымъ генералъ Багратуни былъ заключенъ въ Петропавловскую кръпость.

Совътъ Армянскаго военнаго момиссара, усмленный членомъ отъ Помитета, И. Х. Малантаровымъ, и при участіи Помощника Генералъ-Момиссара Арменіи Я. Х. Завріева, счелъ необходимымъ безотлагательное, энергичное и самостоятельное веденіе цъда, независимо отъ выясненія судьбы генерала Багратуни и, по-

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Въ частности генералокъ л. е. Тиграновимъ.

нію Момиссаріата за неотпускогт средствъ.

Слабо обставленная попытиа выступленія отъ Комитета яля ослобожденія его не дала никакихъ последствій. Одновремен но выбранная для этой же цёли делегація отъ другой чести Петроградской колоніи еще только организовивала чёло; впослед ствіи она также не могла добиться освобожденія генерала.

- 8 -

становленіемъ отъ 9-го ноября, возложиль временно исполненіе должности Армянскаго Военнаго Комиссара на генеральнаго штаба генераль-маіора Л. 6. Тигранова.

Въ виду безпорядочности ухода съ фронта солдатъ вопросъ о сохраненіи прочности Кавказскаго фронта и о безостановочновъ формированім кріпкить дисциплинов частей пріобріталь особо острое для Армянъ значеніе. Съ другой стороны, отсутствіе въ Россіи единой центральной государственной и военной власти оставляло открытымъ вопросъ о средствахъ изъ Государственнаго Казначейства для новыхъ Армянскихъ формированій. Вслідствів этого, стало необходимымъ ознакомиться съ точкою зрвнія союзныхъ миссій въ Петроградъ, и если окажется возможнымъ, просить с матеріальной и моральной помощи на случай, если бы Армянамъ пришлось самимъ формировать свои войска. Съ такою задачею 10го и II-го ноября въ посольства французское, Англійское и Америманское отправилась делегація въ составѣ вр. и. л. Армянскаго Военнаго Комиссара, генерала Л. О. Тигранова, Помощника Генералъ-Комиссара Арменіи Я. Х. Заврієва и подполковника Н. А. Меликъ-Парсаданова. Наиболъе активно пощель навстръчу француз скій посоль, 1. Нудансь; на вопрось его есть ли у Армянь отвътственний Національный исполнительный органь въ Россіи и за границев | какъ бы будущее Армянское правительство" | -делегація освёдомила г. Нуланса объ учрежденномъ Національною конференцією Совыть въ Тифлись и о представительствь въ Парижь Погось Нубарь Паши. Посоль призналь это пока вполив достаточным и объщаль намъ моральную и матеріальную помещь соостероны свеего правительства, а для выработки условій собственно военной помощи просиль безотлагательно переговорить съ главов французской военной миссіи, генераломъ Ниссель. Послъдній также выразиль большой интересь и полную готовность итти навстрачу военнимъ нуждамъ Армянъ предоставленіемъ также въ потребномъ числь офицеровъ-имструкторовь въ части войскъ и для работы въ штабахъ. Какъ г. Нудансъ, такъ и генерадъ Нисседъ просиди поддерживать съ ними постоянную связь въ Петроградъ и въ Тифлисъ въ последнемъ черезъ полковника шардинъи, котораго они объщади немедленно снабдить соотвътствующею инструкціею.

Глава Американской военной миссіи, генераль Джексонь, выразиль полную увъренность, что его правительство не откажеть въ матеріальной поддержкъ лишь бы дринне показади, что дъло у нихъ налаживается.

долодно отнесся глава Англійской военной миссім, генераль Ноксъ, ссыдалсь на фактическую невозможность оказать какое либо содійствіе.

12-го ноября вр. и л. Армянскаго Военнаго Комиссара, генераль Тиграновъ, посътилъ Начальника Генеральнаго Штаба и просилъ о срочникъ распоряженіяхъ для отправки Армянъ военнослужащихъ на Кавказъ, согласно записки Армянской военной Комимесіи конца мая мъсяца. Начальникъ Генеральнаго Штаба вмразилъ
самую дружелюбную готовность помогать генералу Тигранову и 14
ноября, за к. 45920/7228, была отправлена циркулярная телеграмма начальникамъ штабовъ округовъ.

14-го ноября было сформировано ділопроизводство Армянскаго военнаго комиссаріата и немедленно приступлено къ организаціи практическаго осуществленія распоряженія, изложеннаго въ
указанной выше телеграммъ. Для этой ціли, между прочимъ, командированы въ военные округа особые делегаты изъ Армянъ военіхі
нослужащихъ; тамъ, гдъ есть Армянскія организаціи (москва,
Ростовъ и др.) делегаты должны были войти съ ними въ контактъ.

временно и. д. Воекнаго Комиссара, генераль Тиграновь посътиль въ дазаретъ раненнаго элоумилленниками Грузинскаго военнаго Комиссара кн. Мачабели. Почти получасовая охивленная бесъда носила искренно дружественный характеръ, вытекавшій изъ сознанія общиости хизненныхъ интересовъ объихъ націй, а также установившихся между ними вслъдствіе этого довърительныхъ отношеній и упъренности, что у объихъ націй нътъ такихъ спорныхъ вопросовъ, которые не могли бы быть разръшены ими самими къ общему удовлетверенів.

На телеграмму Начальника Штаба Кавкарскаго фронта отъ 14_ го ноября, за № 5/955 получена 19 ноября генералу Тигранову съ предложениемъ послъднему должности Начальника Штаба Армянскаго корпуса, генераль Тиграновъ отвътилъ военною телеграммою 22-го ноября за №4646 копіл помощнику Генераль-Комиссара Ар-

[|]X|
Вслідотвіе того, что Комитетъ Кружна не снебдилъ Коимсовріатъ средствами, пришлось прибъгнуть из общественной

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менім, Я. Х. Заврієву, и подполковнику І. Є. Тигранову о своєй готовности принять эту должность. Но эта телеграмме была получена въ Тифлисъ спустя ІІ дней, вслідствіе чего извірились тамъ получить этоть отвіть и пригласили на эту должность Русскаго полковника морозова.

Въ виду неприбитія изъ Тифлиса членовъ Совъта при военнемъ Комиссаръ по лазначенію Національнаго Совъта и желательности имъть въ Совътъ при Комиссаръ орьентированныхъ въ эксномическихъ и статистическихъ вопросахъ Арменіи людей, вр. и. д. Военнаго Армянскаго Комиссара пригласилъ въ составъ Совъта

Въ этой же телеграммъ было изложено о положеніи дъда въ Петроградъ и о нъкоторыхъ необходимихъ мъропріятіятъ. Мехду прочимъ сообщалось о состоявшемся распоряженіи Главнего
управленія Генеральнаго штаба І4 ноября направить Армянъ-вомновь на Кавказъ и просилось, чтобы Штабъ Армянскаго Корпуса
быль сформированъ по особому штату, объявленному въ приказъ
Начальника втаба Верховнаго Главнокомендующаго отъ 22 декабря
1916 г. за № 1777, съ прибавленіемъ резерва чиновъ изъ Армянъ
и заключающему въ себъ всё элементы штаба арміи въ упрощенномъ
нѣсколько видъ Такой штатъ мянь табъ муносько видъ Такой штатъ мянь по
развется необходимыть
възнекаго корпусовъ въ приказъ Начальника штаба верховнаго
Главнокомандующаго 19 ноября за м 929, является необходимыть
какъ по тому, что составъ Армянскаго корпуса имъетъ быть не
менъе 4 дивизій, т. е. по крайней мъръ вдвое больше номальности; съ другой стороны, при этомъ получается значительная
зкономія въ штабахъ: въбсто двух недостаточно самостоятельнить штабовъ корпусовъ і по 2 дивизіи въ каждомъ — здинъ полно-организованный, но съ личнымъ составомъ меньше, чъмъ въ
двухъ. Командированный для этой пъли въ Могилевъ м. м. ТеръПогосянъ не имълъ возможности добиться соотвътственнаго приказа, такъ какъ его пріъздъ совпалъ съ послъдними днями существованія Ставки и въроятно вслъдствіе отсутствія сответственнаго ходатайства штаба Навизскаго фронта, а потому изъ Ставим была отправлена въ Тифансъ телеграмка съ приказаніемъ верковнаго Главнокомандующаго не чинить препятствій зъ дальнъйшему развертыванію Армянскихъ вооруженныхъ силъ.

Въ такомъ же положенін быль запросъ изъ Тифлиса генералу И. В. Аквердову.

- II -

при немъ Н.О. Назарьяна.

ПА-то ноября генераль Л. Э. Тиграновь мотивированнымъ письиомъ на имя подполковника Н. А. Меликъ-Парсаданова слотилъ съ себя временное исправление должности Ариянскаго Военнаго Комиссара и возложиль эти обязанности на него. Причинов
этому послужило выдвинутое положение по которому Военный Коимссаръ обязанъ подчиняться постановлениять совъта при
немъ. оложивъ съ себя обязанности военнаго комиссара, генералъ Тиграновъ продолжаль работу содъйствия нашему военному
дълу; между прочимъ ускорилъ разръшение от правки на Кавказъ
Ариянъ-времночийнимъ, задержанныхъ еще во внутреннихъ военныхъ округахъ, и принялъ участие въ дълъ освобождения генерала Я. Г. Багратуни, что ему и удалось осуществить 15-го декабря. На слъдующий день генералъ Я. Г. Вагратуни вступилъ въ
должность Ариянскаго Военнаго Комиссара.

20 = 1917.

1324

Въ концѣ лъта онъ заявиль о своемь отказъ участвовать впредь собственно въ военныхъ дълахъ.

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Постоновленіе имѣло касаться исключительно генерала

Я. Г. Вагратуни, но генераль Д. Э. Тигреновь не могь согласиться съ самымъ принципомъ обязательности такого подчиненія
какъ для себя, такъ и въ особенности за отсутствовавието гене
рала Я. Г. Вагратуни, избраннаго Національною Комференцією и,
потому, зависящаго и отвътственнаго только передъ центральнымъ Верховнымъ Національнымъ органомъ, установленнымъ этею
конференцією.

APPENDIX B

THE TERMS OF THE ARMISTICE ON THE CAUCASIAN FRONT CONCLUDED DECEMBER 5 O.S./18, 1917

SCHOOL SMONDSAREAR AR RITARREARD RISORDS

Сегодня, 5 Текабря 1917 г., въ 15 ч., появисина договора о персиирів, такоть которато перелай пословно 1/ оговорь с перемирів между русскийи и турециими арміяниці». ствующеми на кланчиско-туренчому точтра водии. т паляха скорат-BARN CHARGE CERT TO THE CARTOLOG BERNOLD STREET OF THE PART OF THE между туроливым и русскими арміния, въсоткуютили на манивскотуреционь театры вобим, выключаются сладурий поговорь съ пре-REMERIENZ ROSENERS MATCHER I/HACTORNIA CONCORD REASSETOR обязательныма или обажка сторока са 1-го часа 5 демабря 1917 г. ст.ст. 18 делября 1333 толь по туренкому и численію, по заключе нія окончотельного инра. Нарушеніе настоящего погокора одной нас еторонь можеть послідоветь вишь съ предупражденісяв за 14 сутокъ до инчала бревыхъ дъпотній /пемодленно по эступленія настоянаго договора за свлува всаха учестваха навначеско-туреднаго CTO-taxa abendersantes reskis absenders appearing of ottaxa ctoонь, взаимно прокрама том жожейя полужиме полети не только нать расположеніем: протигной стороки, но ва 10 верстной зона ота демаржиціонных линій объякь погозариватики от ань 31 емаржаціонных линія попробно опреділяются особыму и плагасниць из сему договору актома и схоной. Соотнатствующім демариаціонным линін на фронті 7-го назнавонаго, 1-го назнавонаго назалерійскаго и отдельных порпусова должив быть установлени по велимому соглажения соотвытствующими поинссіями, навывленними отъ этихъ кориусовь и противостолщимь тим турециим силь влоть Тернаго

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моря по линів Перване-Тарчала включительно, в/освіщеніе містиости ракетами и прожекторами допускается. 4/Съ можента зотупненія настоящаго договора в силу объ сторови вванино облачится не производить накаких оперативних стратогических передвижент перегруппировокъ и перевозокъ, виходящих» изъ рамокъ обичной смыни части боевой линіи частами иза реверви и особенно ва ціляхъ переб оски ихъ на Несопотанско-Сирійскій фронтъ. Нарушеніе этого пункта должно видменовать собою возобновление военных дъяствій. Приказанія о переданасній войска , отданния до 2 денабря 1917 г. 18 часовъ, до 15 декабря 1998 г. принострава пополудни , сохраняють свою силу. Той подобным распоряжения, посладовавшія послі 18 час. попончиня 18 докабря 19 3 г., подлежать отнікі У/За войсками объяка сторона сохраняются права пребыванія в мастика передвинения на прекалаха территории и ограниченныха для каждой отороны своей демаржаціонной линів при условім, чтобы дивазіоннюе участки не усиливались протива настоящаго положения / Оба сторони обявуются во вое время дайствия настоящаго договора не производить приняжих подготовительных же наступленію работа. Разрішаются, однако, поддерживать въ исправности существующія выженерныя соорученів. Учебную стрільбу раврынается производить рудейную и пулеметную по разстоянія не бянже 5-ти верста ота главной линія передовиха оконова. С производ ствъ учебной стральби объ отороны выблаговременно изващають другь друга. 7/обь сторони договорнаціяся обязуются не висилать сторожевого охран нія, в равно развідывательних партій и одиночных развыдчикова на свои демариаціонная линіия/по все время дыновнія настоящаго договора выходь за нейтральную вону, огла

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наченную демаркаціонным диніных, како военно-слукацию, тако и изотных жителей не допускается. Во время открытія васаданій сивнанной компосія вой мужчины призменого возраста , вынедніе въ нейтральную вону, ограниченную демариаціонным динілым , очитают ся военно-навинима. Въ моживенто нев етого пункта по веаминому ооткашения оторонь осидатамы можеть быть разрашено миходичь въ нейтральную вону за водой, топливомь въ такъ пунктакъ "габ это общино практиковалось за періода военних дайотвійн/вой не доразунанія, могущія вознакнуть при менолненія настоящаго договора, разбираются уполномоченимия оббихь договаривающихся оторонь. Каото и времи собранія отиль уподномоченных назначается въ напломъ отдельномъ олучав чрозъ пооредства парламентеровъ. военивновенія въ случав необхолимости въ переговорана некду мтабани арміи париоментери должни бить вношлаеми на моссе Бриндданъ-Рифаје. 10/35 случай соверженія дителеми нейтральной полоси проступлавій вогумина отозраться на сполоботвія мастнаго наседенія съ виновниваноступастся по взалиному согламенію объякь стороны: бърдият уголовинят проступниковъ как ой иво сторовь обизывается выдавать немедление не требованію другой егороны. 1/Турецкое командованіе принямаеть навосёя обясательство придожять всь уси дія ка тому, чтобы заставеть мурдова ва точности выполнить воз условів настоящого договора. Въ случав враждобних дойотвійнурдовъ русскія войска въ пределамь своей демириаціонной динів будуть поступать от ними, какь от расфойниками, не признаджими някания властей. 12/066 договаряващіноя отороны нивить право ATENTA HPOGEORORIS O GONOGRENIS REE ESMÉRICHIE OTATEDHENT VACTOR договорана отоящаго, для чего осенью токносія ууполномоченны

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моску россібскої сопубанной и центральным державани вой пункти талового отвловатов общотовьними для навизовано принти талового отвловатов общотовьними для навизовано фронта порежу потока волични держате установаньности порежу потока воличний держате нережей специальностибудуть разработави ненему навизанення ней длятим общих оторошь, семним вудамь и детатальным аниваратых разработави нетатальным выпаратых разработави ненему и берогу противной стороми в отвравать ненем детатальных община общей отороми в отвравать ненем дележна вы нависих бы то ни било виде. «Гентонції договорь на усожена и гурецисма ненему вибемилиру его на свенть замивла "подиновники уполновноми община община оторому в-го долибря 1017 года, гор. эрамид-

ANNIA.

Byonof garons nowacola resepent-palers Summanis.

APPENDIX C

THE JOURNAL OF THE ARMENIAN CORPS FROM DECEMBER 1, 1917 O.S. TO AUGUST 1, 1918 (An abbreviated copy made and certified by A. I. Koulébiakine)

Dubluen Kepmer Spendresen Kepmer or Desc. 1914 m 1 186.1918, Companyementormucho).

KPATROE OMCAHIE

дълетвій АВМЯНСКАГО ОТДВЛЬНАГО КОРПУСА съ

I-го декабря 1917 г. по I-е августа 1918 г.

(confeculationes un armain supriasa Sou gmas

I-го декабря 1917 года приступлено къ формированію Армянскаго Корпуса на основанім приказа главноком ндующаго вйсками кавкалька го фронта отъ 30 ноября 1917 года. № 136 и приказа по корпусу отъ I-го декабря № 2.

25-го февраля шта бъ корпуса прибыль вы Александрополь.

2-го марта 1918 года получено извъесте, что жители Макинска го жиства не пропускають черезъсной территор по армянь.

3-го марта командира Армянскаго Корпуса генераль назарбекова приняла командованіе всёма ўронтома ота главнокомандующаго ген. Одимилидзе.

4-го марта въ Сарыканивъ переведевъ штабъ 2-й армянской страл ково, дивизіи. Штабъ I-й арм. страж. динизіи и I-я армян. артил. Сригада переименовани въ штабъ 2-й дивизіи и 2-ю артил. бригаду.

Отдель боевой приказытлавнекомандующаго о защита государства. ной границы оты Батумской области до Нахичевани.

5-го марта армине и греки крестьяне Ардаганскаго и Ольтинскаго округовъ просили черезъскои національные совъты о защить от поднявшихся містныхъ мусульманъ.6-го марта нашъ разъйздъ на Зивіненоскомъ переваль обстралянъ курдами и отошель Караурганскій передогой отрядъ отступиль въ виду обстрала съ тре т оторонъ. Въ Александрополь на пойздъ напали курди. На Ольтинской направленіе назначень грузинскій отрядъ ген. Ардинванидзе. Ввиду обозначившейся угрови Сарыкамыму ж.д. алучаціє постановили эвакупроваться въ Карсъ.

7-го мерта Карауррана снова занята войсками корпуса. Непріятеля не обнаружена. Въ "ашкейскома ра она снокойно. Прикавано начата за куанто изъ Сарыкамина въ Александрополь цанна го имущества. Положение Сарыкамина признано неустойчивна.

8-го мірта курди опить обстріля и развізда на бин некома переваль и питанись у Прокладнаго отрадать ария некую роту. Ардагонскіе мусульмане потребевали разору снія містных ариять.

9-го шрта у с. с. чалыхлы и Армутим была перестрълка Курдова

убито до 25 человъкъ. Потери мъстнихъ армянъ 3 убитыхъ и 7 ране-

10 марта отрядъдели-Казара съ боемь отошель отъ Караургана къ Ханъ-дере. Турки наступели въ силахъ 2 батальоновъ, I эскадрона и 2 орудій съ пулеметами. Офицерскій батальонъ двинуть изъ Сарыкамына.

Подк. Морелю поручена организація самообороны масяних христіанских селеній. Штабу корпуса для удобства управленія разрашен но переажать изъ Сарыкамына въ Адександрополь.

12 марта перестрыка на ж.д. разъедь Каракуль.

13 марта Ардаганскіе мусульмане взали въ пл. нъ 3-ю роту 3-го армянскаго запаснаго по ка. Аррана жел. дор. отъ Алагеза на Эрина на и далъв возложена на ген. Силикова.

14-го марта въ Ново-Селимскомъ направлении безъ перемънъ. Въ Сарыкамынскомъ на равлении обратно взято сел. Кизилъ -Килиса би близъ Бардуса: курды оттъснены.

15-го прервана связь съ Ваномъ. Отрядъ Мурда "посланный для этой связи, достить только даадина. Татары нападали не с.с. Еденов-ку, Новобаязеть, Мархара и Игдирь.

На Караурганъскомъ направлении сторожевое охранение турокъ обнару ено на высотахъ Сирбасана: турки прибликаются.

16-го марта армине жители покинули селенія по лині и хребта чалгауръ Кивилъ-Гядорь Куву Тамкасъ и Аллаурпаръ уйдя на сѣверо западь Кагыз менскій отрядъ обстрълянъ въ 10 вер. отъ Новоселима 800 татарами. Выслана поддержка. Татари скоплаются въ районь Кагызмана и Возарджика Нападенія татарь въ районь Гогчинскаго озера продолжаются. Изъ Эривани выслано 2 роты партижанъ и 2 орудія. Ме ду Мархарой и Игдыр мъ татары уничтожили телегра узъ Вездъ ватари дълствуютъ враждеб но.

17-го оюло 14 час. батальонь протигника повель на сел.Коша-Килиза около Каракурта. На помощь отошедшему нашему отряду выслани отряды изъ Сарыкамыша черезъ Эзносъ и Каракуртъ. Ген. Силико ву отдано распорячение всёми мёрами задерживать вступление противника въриванскую губернию.

18-го марте турецкое непаденіе на Коша-Килису отражено. На Нове селимскомъ направленіи наступавшіе татары и курды сефрованы. Написано въ шта в фронта о запрещении печаталь въ разетахъ сводки нашихъ операції, т.к. ими пользуется прогивная сторона.

19-го мерта турки и курды съ татерами продолжають по разнымы направленіямы продементься из Сарыкемышу, но пока отратаются. Съ боя захвачено на Бардусскомы направленіи селеніе Кюрчи Ле Эриванской тел. дорогы очищена линія мерли-дава у/полк. Долухановы/, при чемы освобождены захваченный татарами батальоны 4-го полка. На Караурганскомы направленіи турки окапываются у меджингерта.

20 марта Національный сов тъ съ Ахалкалаках сообщиль объ обнару еніи наступленія т рокъ Вечеромъ на Бардусскомъ на прави еніи 2 батальожна турокъ вытъснили арминакія части изъ д.д. Герятучакянь, Зякинь, Чермукъ и Кизилъ Килиса.

21-го на Караурганском ваправлені вакое зе наступленіе.
7 ротъ противника замічены на пути къ данскому перевалу у Бардустиля защиты нешего праваго бланга высланы изъ Дивока/въ 10 вер.къ юго-западу отъ Новоселима/ 3 роты съ 2 пулеме гами, 4 эскадрона и 2 орудія на Кизиль Килису у Бардуса/Донесенс штабу бронта объ опсаномь положеніи отряда ген. Арашеварь отвіть полученъ приказъ удлиннить линію фронта впредь до выдвиженія отряда ген. Арашева-нидзе. На помощь ген. Арешеву къ Бардусу выділена часть отряда полк. Мореля.

Полученъ приказъ объ эвакуаціи Карса и приведеніи его въ обо ронительное положеніе.

22-го марта турки перешан въ наступленіе въ Мод ингерескомъ направленіи, оттъснива наши части къ видере Линія обороны Сарыкамышскаго отряда: Сырбасанское поссе медлингертъ вносъ перевалъ
Ванкъ мечетли/на Каракуртскомъ поссе ма Вардусу двинутъ отрядъ
полк Меликъ-вахна зарова. На Повосе мискомъ направленіи противникъ
занялъ сел. важкей. Противникъ сильно тъснитъ нашъ правні флянгъ.
На взносскомъ направленіи стръляетъ турецкая артиллерія. Обнаружено наступленіе на Сарыкамишт не менье 2-3 полковъ пъхоти съ 3 бась
тальонами. До 21 марта потери Сарыкамишскаго отряда около 100 человъкъ Димженіе Противника на Варишанъ остановлено. У Башкея продол
жается скопленіе курдомъ Для прикрытія дел. дороги со стороны Башкеявы выдвинута і рота 2 пулемета и 2 орудія. Донезено въ штабъ кор
пуса, что Сарыкамишскій отрядъ одними своими силеми держаться не

можеть. Ген. Н зарбсковь отдаеть приказь во что бы то ни стало удерживать Сарыкамым. Ген. Арешевь отвъчаеть, что завтра дасть бой, но не раучлется за его исходъ. Приказано выслеть изъ Карса на помощь ген. Арешеву 200 штыковъ.

23-го марта Сарыкамынскі отря в подъ давлені смъ съ фронта и праваго фланга и всябдствіе упадка дужа солдать ночью начель отко в къ Новоселиму. Турки после и часового боя заняли Веришань/15 вер. сфвернье Сарыкальна./Неши части отопли къ чиплажли. Забольвнаго ген. Арешева смъниль полк. вен-шамиконянь. Въ Сарыка-мышь взворвани оба вокзаль и склады. Главнокомандующему донесено, что ввиду напора трокъ наблюденіе Ольтинского направленія невозможно. Сарыкамынь очищень и отря в отошель къ Новоселимскими позиціямъ. Послано въ Карсъ прикажніе задерживать уходящихъ девертировъ.

24-го отрядь отходить къ Новоселиму, задерживансь съ боемъ.

Изъ Эривани и Кагизмана донесения не поступало. Къ 12 чес. ночи

заняти нами Верикань и ванке.

25-го марта Кагызманскі. отряд'є продвигается от Берна къ Кагызману: противника натъ. Башкейскі. и Чиплахлинскі отряды подъ напоромъ отошли на Елиджу и Белю-къ- Бошкей.

Турки сосредсточили противъ Каракала, мирхана и Варджика около 400 пъхоти и 300 коничн. У турокъ около полка пъхоти при 4 пулеметакъ и 4 орудіях».

Около 7 час. утра ивии турецкаго батальона покаж лись на гребна западнае сел. Паражандза, и из артиллерія открыла огонь по армянско, пахота на висота 883,8. На поссе со стороны Елкечма находилось около батальона турокъ. Противь этих силь у армянь только 250 тыковь вы передовой линіи, да 300 в. резерва. Оть новоселима открыть отватный артиллерійскій огонь .Къ 12 час. Новоселимскій огря в началь отходить на Олухли. Ему на помощь двинуты части 1-й дивизіи. Къ 15 часамь начали отходь части и Эллиджинскаго и Беликъ-Башкейскаго отрядовь полк. Мореля, при чемь первый отопаль на Байкарь, а второй на Байбуртъ. Отходили съ боемь.

Объявлены въ осодномъ положенім дриванскія, дчміадзинскія и Сурьжлинскій убъды.

26-во марта для поддержки тъснимаго лъвиго фланга отрядъ поле

Мореля выслань 7-й полкъ съ 2 полевыми орудіями и 1-й конный. Наступленіе турокъ остановлено и наши части снова заняли высоты къ съверу отъ Новоселима отъ высоты 880, I и далье по рыкъ Кечакъ. 7-й полкъ, перейда ръчку Кечакъ, атаковалъ высоту 885, I, а эскадронъ 1-го полка двинулся съ фронта. Высота взята. Турки отступили педъ дрриллерійскимъ отнемъ и угрозой конницы. Къ вечеру бой затихъ. Потери отрядъ невелики. Зо стороны турокъ дълствовалъ полкъ пъкоты при 2 орудія съ и 4 пулеме тахъ.

Начь на 26-е прошла спокойно, кромъ Керакилиси, гдъ была пере стрълка съ мъстними мусульманами. Передовыя части 4-го полка съ боемъ овладъли сел. Наракилиса, отгаснивъ противника на Тикисъ.

. Начальнику Кагызивнекаго отряда приказано непрерывно продолжать движеніе на Кагызманъ.Ген. Силиковъ изъ Эривани доносить о непрерывных з бояхъ армянь съ місяными тетарами и курдами.

27-го марта Эрверумскій и Эрвинджанскій полки вновь съ боемъ ваняли сел. Енчиджа, Безерлянъ и Кочитъ. Въ Новоселимскомъ районъ наши части перешли въ наступленіе и успішно продвигаются впередъ, преодольвая упорное сопротивлені е турокъ. Къ 17 час. головныя части бегли-А медскаго отря за находились въ версть къ съверу и съверовенну отъ Карахандзы. Кагызманскій отря ъ достигъ станціи Пасли. Курды оттьснены къ югу Запрошено о положеніи Ванскаго отряда. Ген-Оиликовъ доноситъ, что его силъ хватаетътолько для охраны не далые Волчьихъ вороть и Аракса въ ущельи къ Джульовь.

28-го м рта на фронть корпуса безъ перемынайзъ Тиблиса нь Алек сендрополь высленъ сводный макинскій полкъ.

29-го марта на пополнение Кагызманскаго огряда выслано 1000 человъкъ, что начальникъ отряда призналь достаточнымь. Командиръ Армянскаго корпуса проситъ выдалить южную жел. дорогу отъ Навтлуга въ самостоятельный отдаль съ центромъ въ Александрополъ.

30 марта въ Бегли-Ахмедекомъ отрядъ на участкъ Эрзинджанскаго полка была въ 4 часа ночи перестрълка. Въ остальновъ безъ перемънъ.

Получено извъстіе о заключеніи на Батумскомъ фронтъ/грузины/ перемирія и о начатыхъ пере оворяхъ в распространеніи этого перемирія и на Армянскій фронтъ.

Ген. Силиковъ доносить, что изъ Баязета отошли въ Игдырь остаки 3-и армян. особой пъх. бригады и 5-и стръж. полкъ пол .Пирумова. / бывшій Ванскій отрядъ/. Въ Карсъ произведена со всъхъ фортовъ учебная стръльба.

31-го марта на фронтъ корпуса безъ перемънъ. Карсъ и Александрополь подчинены командиру корпуса Получено извъстіе о полнена очищеніи нами Баязетской и Алашкертской долинъ и о небоеспособности войска/ген. Силиковъ/. Дезертирство усиливается. У Кульпа столи новеніе армянъ съ татарами.

1-го апрыля безь перемыть Бегли-Ахиедскій отярыд вы совтавы 3 бетальоновь, 5 эскадроновь, 10 горных орудій и 14 пулеметовь перевель на ступленіе противы ліваго фланта турокъ Развідань фроневые. 972-Ялагаущань-Иванополь-выс. 955. Обнаружено сторожевое охранніе противника. Вслідствіе дождя и тумана наступленіе пріостановлено.

Приказено Андранику еформировать свой отрядь въ Карсъ.

Приказано Карсскому коменданту ген. Двеву принять всв мвры для обезпеченія Карса со стороны Мерденека. Получено извъстіе о перерывь перемирія на Приморском з направлені и. Послана просьба въ Тиї лись о скорвишейь присилкь пополненій.

2-го апрыла получена телеграмма главнокомандующаго, что карател ныхъ экспедицій противь татаръ производить не разрышено, но выступи пленіе татарокихъ скопицъ противь войскъ Закавказской республики должно разсмитриваться, какъ враждебныя д'йствія возставило населенія. Копія этой телеграмми послана ген. Силикову.

Примъчаніе: телеграмма эта двусмисленна и непонятна: съ одной стороны возставших татаръ карать нельяя, а съ другой ихъ недо разсматривать, какъ воюющую сторону. Вообще такихъ двухетороннихъ приказаній за эту войну получалось и при русскомъ правительствъ не мало и онь только перекладывали всю тяжесть отвътственности на непосредственныхъ исполнителей, не разрышая вопроса по существу и плодя только новых недорозумьнія. Такую же политику вела и Закавкаєское правительство, въ которомъ засъдали представители всъхъ трехъ націо нальностей и всъхъ ихъ надо было примирять при столкновеніяхъ интерессив представилемихъ ими народностей.

Охрана Мерденекскаго направленія на Карсь поручена ген. Андрані ку. Начальнику Кагызменскаго отряда кап. Шнеуру приказано согласовать съ ген. Андранжкомъ свои дъйствія. 3-го апраля.Ген. Теръ-Акоповъ назначенъ нача вником в Берли-Ахиедека го отряда.

Караклисскій и Анысскій полки направлены изъ Эриванскаго радов къ Кагызману. Ханъ Макинскій стремится ввести свои волска въ Нахичеванскій увздъ.

4-го апраля перестралки передовых развадова.

у васаръ-Кечара идетъ бой тъ 5 вер. отъ озера Гогча. Получено извъстіе, что 2-го апръля курды у Карабуруна убили 10 и I армянина, угнавъ скотъ. Обнаружено передвиженіе турокъ отъ пазилъ-килисы, что съверо-западнъе Гегаргина. Продолизител слухи о занятіи турками мерденека: Бронированны повздъ у стан. Пахтахты окружень татарами.

6-го впрыля въ Вегли-Ахмедскомъ отрядь бой съ турками. Къ 8 час. непріятель заняль гори Кари-каянъ Огневой бой у станціи Салимъ На остальномъ фронть тико. Противникъ болье пожка пыхоти съ артиллеріей. наступая къ западу отъ Везиргянъ-Кечита противъ льваго фланта дрзер румскаго полка, прорваль его фронтъ Полкъ разбъявлея. Масса дезертировъ хлинула во владикарсъ въ центръ отряда между Сарыкамышскимъ и Кагызнанскимъ шоссе турецкія атаки на позиціи у Лалбантла, на львомъ фланть наши части шли въ наступленіе и взяли обратно гору Кази-кая. Противникъ, преслъдуемый отошелъ но ввиду угрози правому флангу, ген. Теръ-Акоповъ отрядъ на линію Гармали-каменоломия-Бегли-Ахмедъ Агадава. Втабъ отрядъ отошелъ въ Новомихайловку Отъ ген. Силикова поя лучено донесеніе, что бронированный поъздъ, посленный изъ дривани на помощь передовымъ частямъ, дальше нахичевани пробиться не могъ: ата-куюта татары.

7-во апръля безъ перемънъ.

8-го апрыля получены подробности боя 6-го апрыля. Ген. Андраникъ
двинутъ къ Ажалкалаки, чтоби остановить движен іе турокъ отъ Ардагана

9-го апраля съ разсвата упорный бой на лавомъ фланга Бегли-Ахмед скаго отряда на линіи Сыпаназадъ и высоты Агадава. Отрядъ заняль повиціи на фронта Гарамъ-Вартанъ и Ахбаба. Выяснены потери 6-го апраля: 102 убитыхъ, 163 раненыхъ. 70 пропавшихъ. Н

На фронта Бегли-Ахмеденано отрада около 5 час.утра турки обетраляли оруділим высоти Карагачь и наменоломию, а около 6 часовь повели

атаку цъпями отъ Эски-кази и Байбурта. На л'явомъ участкъ главний ударь противника неправился на Игдиръ и Супаназадъ. Къ 8 час. утра армяне сбити съ Агадавы къ съверу. Отрядъ отведснъ на линію Скианазадъ-Агадава. На и чакома участкъ 2-1 стрълк полкъ выбить съ горы Бент-Кая и къ 10 час. задер плея. Совийстно съ отонедними сосиднини частими на линг осточные Карага чъ-Исламдзоръ-Максуджикъ на высотака 998,2- 903,2-880,2. Части ліваго участка пода прикрытіема артиллеріи и русскаго батальона отошли къ Ахбабинскимъ высотамъ. Отряду приказано занять полевыя повини Карса на участив Горамъ-Ве Вартанъ-Дашкая-Ахбаба. Пта с отряда отошель нь Петровку/4 вер. къ ю.з. отъ Карса/. Промежутокъ между горол дашкая и Ахбаба 14 къ 14 час. двинуты 4 эскадрона. У южной окраины Владикараа поставлено 10 горных орудій. Въ Каныкей выдвинуть эскадронъ для наблюденія рай она Ахбаба-Угля ръ. Съверн не Карса сел. Воронцовка "Прохладное и Романовка заняты курдами. У Прохладноя быль бой 2 эскадроновъ Карсскаго коннаго полка въ курдами безъ результата. На Мацри двинулось нъсколько курдолихъ колониъ. Въ районъ Башъ-Кадыгляра такте появились курдскія шайки. Изъ Карса двинуты вь Прохладное 1 роты съ 2 пулеметами и въ Мацру- 1 рота съ 2 орудіями. Ввиду чрезвычайной серьезности положенія, спішно начаты новыя містныя формированія. Ясно, что турки стремятся взять Карсъ.

9-го сприля днемь обнаружено движені є турецких колоніх изъчигирвана въ востоку. Для обезпеченія праваго фланга, длинуть батальонь 7-го полка єз повиціи локанлы-даштая єз 2 орудіями и 1 эскадрономь въ ралонъ Горамъ-Вартанъ-Санаватъ. Онъ вметуниль только въ
22 часарт. к. быль занять прикрытіємь отхода солдать 2 -го полка.

Въ это время части Эрвинджанскаго полка, занимавшія высоты запад нье Горамъ-зартана, узнавъ по слухамъ, что турки яко бы заняли Са-мавартъ, бъщали Сосъднія съ ними роти Эрверумскаго и 2-го полковъ также начали отходить. Полк. Морель принялъ всё мъры, чтобы остановить ихъ. Для оборены горы Веюкъ-тапа высленъ батальонъ 7-го полка. Къ утру 10-го отступившія части удалось привести въ порядокъ. Посль этого батальонъ 7-го полка былъ двинутъ для взилтія линіи Самавартъ Горамъ-Вартанъ. На лёвомъ участке солдаты книсе аго полка увли съ позицій. Солдаты 1-го полка, не исполняя боевых приказаній такъе повицій. Солдаты 1-го полка, не исполняя боевых приказаній такъе повицій. Солдаты 1-го полка, не исполняя боевых приказаній такъе повицій. Солдаты 1-го полка, не исполняя боевых приказаній такъе повицій. Солдаты 1-го полка, не исполняя боевых приказаній такъе повицій. Солдаты 1-го полка, не исполняя боевых приказаній такъе повищим въ тыль. Около 13 час. противникъ открыль артилерійскій огок

съ Чалгаурскаго хребта, что въ 8 вер. съверо-западнъе Карса въ сторону Благодарнаго.

10-го апрыля 6-й полкъ развернутъ изъ 2-хъ ба таль оннаго въ
3-хъ ба таль оннай. Получена раді ограмма изъ Тифлиса о провозглашеніи
Закавказским Сеймом независимости Закавказья, съ приказані емъ
-немедленно прекратить военныя дъйствія съ турками. Отда но всёмъ
воискамъ распорязені е прекратить бой и донесено Военному Мингстру.

Ненераломъ Одишелидае послана телеграмма Вехибъ пашъ о прекращен и нами воонныхъ дъйствій.

Карсскій коменданть-ген. Дъевь донесь о прекращеній активныхь дъмствій армянами, но турки продолжали наступать Ген. Силиковь донесь что р споряженіе о прекращеній военныхь дійствій нь районь Эриванскаго отряда имъ сділано, но прекратили бой только армянскій части, а противникъ везді продолжаль работать враждебно.

Ген. Терз-Акапову, въ отвътъ на его донесене о томъ, что внезапный призава армянамъ прекратить бой, когда турки продолжають свей
свой огонь, подъйствоваль на солдатъ убілственно деморализующе:общее стремлене въ тылъ и общее мивне солдатъ, что ихъ нарочно отдають на мертву врагу, связывал имъ руки такииъ приказаніемъ. Приказано, плинять всв мърн для приведенія частей из порядокъ. Все напрасно. донаріе солдатской масси къ командному составу и висшей власти
подорвано вкончательно: телеграмма предсъдателя совъте министровъчхенкели, безъ предварительнаго обмъна телеграммами съ турками о
преркащеніи огня, когда непріятель не желаль его прекрачать и стремился въ явному окруженію кръпости, произвела самое отрицательное
впечатльніе не всь войска. Ген. Назарбековъ немедленно выразиль нь
разговорь по телеграфу по аппарату свое протестующее мивніе. Ему отвычено, что онь обязанъ исполнить приказаніе.

11-го впръля полк. Скларевичъ/начальникъ птоба Карсской крипости передаеть начальнику штаба корпуса турецкое предложение о нашемъ от-кодъ въ случат перемирія на линію фортовъ, съ тімъ, что турки подой-дутъ къ нимъ на разстояніе 2 веретъ: иначе говоря этимъ создавалявсь полное окруженіе кріпости, т.к. линія фортовъ огибала Карсъ кругомъ.

Ген. Дъеву приказано не подпускать турскъ ближе 2 версть къ фортамъ. Телеграфиме переговори съ Тифлисомъ продолжаются. Министръ Чхенкели интересуется узнать, возможно ли еще сспротивление крыпости. если онь отдасть приказы нарушить перемиріе. Ген. Назарбековы отвічаеть что это слідовало ділать раньше, а теперы поздностурки со зейхы сторонь облегають крілость по нашему же непротивленію, а возстановить бодрость сондать уже невозможности не вірять вы озможность боя при такихь условіяхь и опреділенно считають дальнійшую борьбу безполезноя.

Ген. Дъевъ сооб жеть о сервезнъйшемъ положении кръпости въ свям зи съ отходомъ полевыхъ частен и просить поручить ведение перегова ровъ съ турками полк. Морелю.

Комиссаръ Арзумановъ сообщаеть о безпорядочном от кодъ войскъ указываеть на успъчность дъйствія артиллері и и просить для пользи назначить начальникомъ полевихъ войскъ ген. Арешева.

Ген. Аре объедоносить, что турки неудержимо наступають дальше указанном имъ линіи, алнани войска уходять сами, не желая уже сражаться.

Ген. Вынинскій телеграфируєть ген. Одинелидае турсикія условія перемирія: полная сдеча крапости въ суточный срокъ и очищеніе веся карсской области вплоть до Александрополя. Предсёдатель Закавказска го правительства-чхенкели передаеть Вехибу пашь о приняті и имъ всёхь турсикихь условія.

Турки продолженть продвигаться, охватывая Карсъ подковой и стремясь отразать кел. дорогу Команлирь корпуса въ разговоръ по прямому проводу съ ген. Арешевымъ и Теръ-Акоповыхъ выясняетъ е полное нежельні е войскъ драться дельше/разговоръ происходитъ между Александрополемъ и Карсомъ/Коменданту и начальнику отряда сообщается, что Завка правительство приняло всъ условія турокъ.

Ген. Теръ-Аконовъ доносить, что туре кое комендовеніе въ вопрось о демаркаціонной линіи между объими сторонеми руководствуется телеграммой министра Чхенкели говорящей, что перемиріе должно быть заключено на основахъ Брестъ-Литовскаго договора, а этимъ договоромъ турками отдается вся Карсская область.

Турки несмотря на заключенное перемиріе, продолжають свое насту пленіе, стремясь къ полному окруженію не стреляющих армянскихъ войскъ.

Чхенкели немедленно приказываеть выполнить съ турками условія

эвакуа ін Карса/поздно выяснять, когда все уче яз рукахь врага и зависять только оть его воли/.

Ген. Двевъ отвъчаета, что турки настепвають на полномъ окруженіи крыпости.

Ген. Выприскіл, пере ввая слова ген. Жева, докладиваеть правительству просьбу командира корпуса продлить срокъ эвакуаціи крапоети.

Въ отвътъ на это полк . Патиж въ изъ Тифлиса справиваетъ, отвъчаетъ ли распоряжение Чхенкели боевой обстановит Карса. Ген. Вынинский отвъчаетъ, что теперь поздно подниматъ подорванным духъ войск и исправить положение невозможно.

Комендовані емъ Карсскимъ отряцомъ отъ ген. Терь-Акопова переда ется ген. Арешеву, а ген. Терь-Акоповь вступаетъ въ командованіе Бегли-Ахмедскимъ отрядомъ.

Турки, достигнувь желеттельного для нихь тактического положения, пріостанавливають свой огвив, продолжая перегруппировку своихъ войскъ. Для переговоровь съ туркани командировань полк. Морель.

Во исполнение воли правительства отданъ приказа о выводъ войск: изъ Карса .Въ крапости приказано оставить последнимъ-2 по ка.Принимаются мъры для охраны кел. дороги до сел. Вегали.

Турки наступають на лавии фланть Беглийхмедского отряда, занимающего высоты къ западу и юго-западу стъ Мацры и оттаснить его, доходять до шосоейной будки, что восточнае Стекольной горы. Подошедшіе 8-й и 4-й полки отгоняють противника и наши части вновь занимають высоты Чахлахъ баши въ 8 вер. ю.в. Мацры.

12-го апрыля Чхенкели требуеть отъ Вехиба паши місячный срокъ для эвакуаціи Карса и указываеть на неправильность дійствій турокъ посль объявлентя перемирія.

Армянскій Національный Совыть телеграфируеть, что распоряженів правительства ділались лицами неправомочными и предлагавть обороняті Карез. Телеграмма эта передается Коменданту. Слідомь главнокомандуюції разрішаеть коменданту вывести войска изъ кріности.

Ген. Дъевъ сообщесть турсцкія условія перемирія. Ген. Арешевъ доносить о новемь бой у Мацры. Чхенкели обіщасть дать черевь 2 каса отвіть на турсцкія условія, учтя положені с Александрополя на двухъ берегахь Ариачая, т.к. турки приснають новую границу вилоть до этом рікк.

Вехиоъ дълаетъ распоряжение къ 12 час. занять всъ Кареские форты на лъвомъ берегу Карсъ—чая. Ген. Одишелидзе передаетъ приказание правительства очистить Карсскую область вплоть до Арпачая. Правоберечные форты Александрополя должни быть срыты.

Командиръ корпуса доносить правительству о недостаточности назначенных в имъ для эвакуаціи сроковъ, о томъ, что Александропол скія украпленія возможно сдать только по заключеніи окончательнато мира, а охрана дороги Карсъ Александрополь должна быть оставлена за нашими войсками.

Вездъ по фронту продолжеется частичная стръжба. Отданъ прикаж прекратить ес.

Комендантну приказано выводить войска из сторону Александроноля. Вой служащіе уходять, начинаєтся распредёленіе эвакувціи города. Ночью въ штабъ кріности прійзжаєть турецкая делегація изъ Бегля
Ахмета. Къ вечеру турки уже заняли часть фортовъ ліваго берега Кара
чая. Послі этого и правобережние форти самовольно оставлени солдатами, которые отходять на Манру. Въ Карей пожари. Горить интендантекій складъ у эная станціи, угрожая и артиллерійскимь. Окрестние татари напали на станцію Караяль, но отбиты. Изъ Эривани донесено объ
отбитіи нападенія курдовъ у Маркары.

13-го апраля по всему фронту Бегли-Ахмедскаго отряда заключено персмирае.

Чхенкели заправиваетъ Вехибъ пашу, почему турки наступали на Мацру.

Рен. Одишелицае просить Вехтох пашу продлить срокъ эвакуаціи на 14 дней. Командуюціи приказываеть подготовить правоберечные Александропольскіе форты къ варыву. Принимаются мъры для ловли дезертировъ.

Ген. Андранику приказано выступить съ отрядомъ въ Ахалкалаки. Получено извъстіе о критическомъ положеніи Ванскихъ бъженцевъ.

14-го апръля ген. Арешевъ со станціи караялъ доносить, что турки нарушають перемиріе. Мость у Караяла вворвань. Обо всемъ донесено по командь. Турки не вогласни на мъсячный и 14 дневный скроки, сакта ців, предлагаемые изъ Тирлиса и назначають только три дня. Чхонколи протестуеть Вехибъ пашъ противъ нарушенія турками условій перемирія

B

у Караяла и въ районъ Ахалцика.

Приказано подготовить къ оборонъ позиціи на новой границъ вдоль Арпачая.

15-го апраля круди съ утре обстраливають наши арріергарди. Обнаружень подходь турокь со сторони Благодарнаго къ Кизиль-Чахчаху. Туда послань I-й полкъ. Ген. Арешевь опять просить разръшенія отойти ему съ войсками за Арпачай, т.к. подходять турки, а открывать огонь по нимь нельзя, что деморализуеть солдать. Отходь разръшень на завтр

Занавка зское правительство требуеть уже 7 дней сроку для эвакуаціи Карса. Турки продолжають продвигаться впередь Нев эривани получено донесеніе ген. Силинова объ ихъ движені и на Игдырь/занять Орговъ/. Вехибу пашь сообщено, что Оттомянское правительство признало Закавка зскую республику.

Ген. Арешевъ доноситъ, что онъ началъ отходъ за Арпачай. Татары Карсской области заявили себя въ войнъ съ армянами. Закавкавское правительство не согласилось хлопотать о сохраненіи правобережных фортовъ у Александрополя: прикаж но уничтожить.

Національний совъть требуеть, чтобы командирь корпуса ставиль совъть вы извъстность о всь в своих в дъйствіяхь.

Андранику поручено следить за неперехо юмь турками новой грани 16-го апраля министръ чхенкели просить Вехисъ пашу дать хотя бы возможность армя некому населению Карса вывезти свое имущество и хлабъ. Турки продолжають охвативать крапость. Продолжаются перестранки. Мусульмане безчинствують у Ахалцика изэ Эривани отъ ген. Силикова получается донесеніе, что къ туркамъ отъ Игдырскаго отряда посла ны парламентеры. Туркамъ послана телеграмма о нарушеніи ими условій перемирія. Множество бътенцевъ направлюется черезъ Арпачай въ Эриван скую губ. Военно-плънные турки направлются въ Александрополь.

17-го апраля командиръ корпуса проситъ командующего арміей разрашенія, если турки нарушать перемиріе, начать черезь 14 дней военныя дайствія. Турки пока остановились на занятыхъ линіяхъ.

18-го апръл#1-го мая/ армянскимъ частямъ Эриванскаго отряда приказано продвинуться за Игдиръ къ Оргову.

Андарникъ прибылъ ез отрядомъ въ Гюлди-булагъ. На бронтъ пока епокойно діа Чингильскомъ переваль за нять Орговъ, дорога Джульфа-Александрополь открылась/прошло 2 поъзда/. Турки согласились отвести свої войска за чингильскій переваль.

2 2-го мая /нов.стиль/ Вехибь папа запретиль вывозь изъ Кареа имущества. Ген. Джевь прибыль въ Александрополь. Джалаль оглы забито бъженцами изъ Александрополя. Андранику приказано ни подъ какимъ видомъ не нереходить границы и не ввязываться въ бой. 3

3-го мая ген. Силиковъ доноситъ, что имъ отправлены парламен теры въ Баязетъ для установленія демеркаціонной линіи, но турки все время нарушають перемиріе. Врзинджанскій полкъ отказался итти въ указенний ему пунктъ: примънено воздъйствіе вооруженной силы. Въ Эривенскомъ районъ нап денія татаръ.

4-го мая особых событія не произошло .Стынки съ татарами. 5-го мая вездѣ стычки съ татарами.

6-но мая всё признаки скораго перехода турокъ въ новое насту пленіе: ждутъ только повода, а поводъ дается каждымь армяно-татар скимъ столкновеніемъ. Въ 10 вер. въ съверо-западу отъ Александропо ля у мельницы выстръломъ тяжело раненъ наблюдатель: стръляли татары. Замъчается накапливаніе шаекъ къ Алексан рополю.

7-го мая безъ переменъ. Текущія респоряженія по обезпеченію новой граници отъ наступленія турокъ.

8-го мая текущія распоряженія. Нападенія курдовь и татарь.

9-го мяя получены донесенія изътыла, что русскіе большевики усиленно агитирують противь отправленія новых полковь, на тронть большевизмь инфется въ армянской солдатской средь/Лорійскій полкъ/.

II-го мая разбои вы Ахапкалакскомъ ублуб. Нападенія татары.

12 мая ген. Силикову приказано расформировать всё добровольческія хумбы ввиду ихъ безполезности и неумінія поддерживать порядокъ Людей ихъ приказано влить въ регулярния части. Получено свёденіе о тяжеломь положеніи русскаго мирнаго населенія въ Лорійской степи. Командиръ турецкаго корпуса Шевки паша требуетъ допустить въ Кареклисъ турецкаго обицера для наблюденія за обращеніем съ турецкими плёнными. Ген Назарбековъ отвётилъ, что турецкія свёденія о яко бы дурномь обращеніи армянъ съ ихъ плёнными-невёрны, а допученіе турецкаго офицера для контроля-составляетъ дёло Закав-казекаго правительства, которому и сообщено. Турки обёщають полную

неприкосновенность мирных жителей.

13-го мая Андраникъ доносить, что турки на дняхъ перейдуть въ наступленіе. Просить присла в нуждающемуся отряду деньги. Жел. дорожное сообщеніе на Тифиисъ прекращено Борчалинскими тарарами. Съ Джуп фой тоже. Испрашивается присылка бронированна го повзда, чтоби пробить путь. Повзда пока нёть, мотя объ этомъ неоднократно просили и раньше. Шевки пашь сообщено, что наблюдать за турецкими плънными приставлены мусульмане.

14-го мая большевики солдаты лорійска о пожка арестовали своих офицеровъ Лосланъ карательных отрядь ген. Теръ-Аконова для освобожденія и-не офицеровъ и приведенія Лорійцевъ въ повиновеніе Противъ
Александропольскихъ укрыпленій замьчено усиленіе непріятельскаго
сторожевого охраненія на Лорійской дорогь у Яйли. У Ильхнаби была
перестрыка между конными турками и ротой видраника.

15-го мая ген. Арешеву приказано удерживать Александропольскія позиціи и , в случай наступленія превосходнаго противника и невозможности его удержать, отходить на Джаджурскії переваль, куда приказано срочно вей необходимые боевые и питате вные запасы.

Въ 10 час. утра получены донесенія, что турки наступають со стороны Копса съвернье крыпости. Начальникъ Александропольского отряда ген. Ар шевъ приказаль 2-у и 3-у полкамъ развернуться на линіи дрескенть-Тараделявь 4-й полкъ дошель до линіи Орга-Килиса. Обоимъ полкамъ приказано остановить турокъ, обходившись крыпость съ съвера и юга. Къ туркамъ посланъ парламентеръ, запросить о поводахъ наступленія. Въ городь полное разложеніе и паника жителей. Въ 15 час. Зоривнуть турки заняли селенія Дрескентъ, Тападелявъ, Кльжавой и Хорумъ и полели свои цыпи дальше. Армянской конной бригадь приказано дать имъ бой у чирахли. Въ 23 час. 45 минутъ получено отъ ген. Арешева донесеніе, что непріятель заняль Александрополь.

Объявлены на военномь положенім оставшіяся вы наших рукахь части Александропольскаго, Казахскаго и весь Новобаязетскій увадь. Въ Тиримсъ донесено о нарушенім турками перемирія.

16-го май Казахскому полку приказано выступить въ Караклисъ. Ген. Андранику да на задача охранять Лорійскую степь. Ген. Силикову тоже послани соствътствующія распоряженія на случай наступленія турокъ и состено с ихъ движенів.





По донесенію Начальника штаба І-и Армя некой дивизіи, турки потре бовали отволя наших волскъ на 25 километровъ от Арпачая. Вчера 15-г мая они закрапили з собой Орта-Килису и высоты съвернъе ея, накопились въ центръ у лаваго фланга крыпости въ далонъ Тапа-Таладагъ и А.Караклисъ, откуда двинулись восточные. Нашь правий флангь обходили по горамь татары. 4-й полкъ, не выдержалъ наступленія, отошель къ Дчадурскому перевалу. 3-й полкъ изъ Дюскента частью быль направлень на Орта-К лису, частью че на поддержку лъваго фланга. 2-й и І-и полки отошли на высоты у больного БКапанака. 8-й полкъ продолжалъ держаться съвернъе и с.в. кръпости. Общее направление отхода остальных войскъ указоно ка Даджуру. Требованія турока отвести эрмянскія войска на 25 вер. отъ Арпачая выполнилось само собой. Вслъдствіе полнаго разстройства войскъ, волей неволей, приплосъ имъ приказать отойти на линію Гекъ Егушъ-Бекандъ-Авдибекъ-Палебъ, чтобы тамъ оправиться и принять бои. Командиръ Лорійскаго полка донесь о продолжавшемся 3-й день бой по дорога отъ Александрополя на Ахалкалаки. Донесено командующему армієн о полной безнадежности положенія у Александрополя. Запрошенъ Надіоне вына советь, какъ претупать дальше, если турки будуть продолжать наступленіе.

17-го мая получено отъ Вехиба паши требование п едоставить чел. дорогу Александрополь-Дтульфа для перевозки турцких войскъ.

Командиры корпуса быль выну день согласиться на это требование. Ген. Арежевъ доноситъ о полной небоеспособности своего отряда. Ген. Силикову послано приказаніе пропустить турецкія войска по жел. дорогь.

(Игдырскому отряду указано оставаться на мьсть)

Комендиру Ахалкалакскаго полка приказено изготовиться къ встрава турокъ и дъяствовать совмёстно съ гон. Андранию мъ Отъ начальника Алате вскаго отряда пришло донесскіе, что Эрвинджанскій полкъ от ходить на разъёз тъ Кара-кала, а Караклиескій и Химескій наблюдають по берегу Ар пачая отъ Казвина до Тазакира, а дапьше отъ Каравансарая слідить кол ница Претивъ Узункенда появилось около 100 непріятельскихъ всадников. да около 200 наступало къ рекъ ценъю съ запада. Русскій добровольческі отрядъ направленъ въ Караклисъ къ отошедшему раньше штабу корпуса.

18-го мая на Арпачав отъ Бугдашена до Тазакенда противника не обнаружено. Резойздо на Чингильскомо перевади обстрелянь. Командиру Казах-

скаго полна, ввиду оголенія фронта, приказано мобилизовать еще 1000 кадровикь солдать. Ген Арешевь доносить, что изъ всей его дивизіи осталось только 800 человькь, остальные-дезертиры. Въ Эриванскомъ районь
Кульпинскій отрядь, согласно приказанія, отошель къ мосту Кара-кала
для охраны переправы черезь Араксъ. Въ Башабаранскомъ направленіи
вислань отрядь Дро. Изъ штаба 1-й дивизіи доносять о полномъ немеланіи солдать случить. ители внавшивають бълне благи, заявляють о
своемь неланіи подчинитася туркамъ и на это же уговаривають солдать
Въ ротехь осталось по 5-10 человькь.

Ген. Ареневъ **еда**лъ командовані е отрядома полк. Бей-Мамиконяну и въ отпускъ.

Полк. Вей-мамиконянь донест, о своемы вступлении вы коминдование и о той же картины развала войскъ. Обо всемы этомы донесено Націонали ному совыту. Ушли самовольно съ позицій 4-й и 8-л полки вслідствіе своего малаго состава оты дезертирства и угрови мыстнихы житедай, вы случан подхода турокы перейти на ихы сторону. Полк. Картановы, что воронцовскіе молокане и тагары заявляють о своемы желаніи подчини ниться туркамы, т.к. считають войну невозможной. Ген. Назарбековы указываеть начальнику штаба арміи на неумыстносты держанія вы Карана клись такого большого количества плынныхы турокы, которые только притагивають кы себы и кы отряду вниманіе непріятеля, стремящагося кы освобожденію своихы.

19-го мая ген. Назарбенова приказала начальнику Алексан пропольскаго отряда наблюдать фронта котя бы обищерами, если нельзя заставить солдата. Командиру Казакскаго полка приказано задерживать девертирова ва Делижана. Командиру Лорійскаго полка приказано тоже ез отправленіема девертирова на фронта Вызвано иза Делижана на фронта вво по 300 Елисаветпольцева Пол чено донесеніе, что вчера 18-го мая около 24 час. турки наступали протива Алагевскаго отряда, но отражены каразана у Карабуруна. Ген. Силиковыма высланы катуркама парламентеры са предложені ема прекратита наступленіе. Ва 12 час. 30 мин. дня турка вели перестрілку са армянами на Чингильскома переваль и пода киными высовами халфалу и хошкабара Хашбатара.

Ген. Кылнитадзе сообщаетъ ръшение министра Чхенкели пропустить турскъ.

Ген. Андранику приказано оставаться у Джалал 2-оглы, прикрывая Ле-

рійскую степь. Андраникъ сосредоточился у Далаль оглы.

20 20-го мая спокойно, кромі частичных перестрілокт у Чингиля каракала. Утромь на Куджахскомь перевалі показались піхотныя коміни турокь. Посланы изъ Игдыря палраментеры, выяснить причину движения.

Около 14 час. съ Дтаджурскаго перевала къ Акбулагу спустилось около батальова турокъ, а отъ станців Ахбулагъ на востокъоколо роты, и ушли обратно. Замічено дімженіе безъ міръ охраненія къ Алихану. Въ Калтахчи пришла турецкая конница.

Къ 15 час. къ Авдабеку подошло человъкъ 50 турокъ съ пулемета ми. Левтные жители цотре бовели, чтоби на ходившаяся тамъ армянская застава удалиласв. Она отошла восточнъ Авдибека и турки заняли селеніе. Получены свъдънія, что турки намърены итти дельше до самаго Тифифаа.

Начальнику Александропольскаго отряда дано приказаніе, въ случай наслупленія турокъ на Караклись, отходить на Пагали съ І-й дивизіей и 2 горными батареями, а остальным частямь подъ начальством полк.ки. Аргутинскаго отступить къ Делижану. Русскіе молокане сел. Боронцовка задержали и не выдають орудій русской батареи кап. Лутцау.

Тен. Лиликовы доносить о трагическомы положении Эриванскаго отряда: управлять войсками далье становиться невозможнымы. Командиры корпуса доносить командующему арміей и Національному совіту, что обстановка требуеть немедленнаго заключенія окончательнаго мира. Кы туркамы опять высланы перламентеры, съ указа ніемы, что они нарушають условія ими же принятаго перемирія. Турки продолжають, обсиня во всемы армянь, производить спои передвиженія впередь.

21-го мая командирь Лорійскаго полка доносить, что вчера на Карагачекомь первваль появились турки и подошли къ Воронцовкь, гдь соединились съ татарами. Молекане отказались выдать орудія батарен кап. Лутцау, за которой были посланы двь роты и двь сотни Андраника. Молокане объявняли свой отказъ тыть, что турки яко бы отометять имърсии они отдадуть орудія армянамь противъ нихъ.

Изъ штабя I-й дивизіи донесено, что отъ Ахбулега по Александропольскому шоссе на Налбяндъ днигается колонна турецкой пъхоти съ конницей и къ 10 час. достигла лині и Гекъ-Мушъ-Беканд Александро-

польскому отряду приказано при дальныйшеми продвижении непріятеля отходить на линію Гогорант-Тоцачли-Вартнавт Ляз штаба 2-й дивизів донесено: утроми 20-го турки, усилившись курдами и татарами, повеля наступленіе на Игдырь/Эриванскій ралони/. Пославные парламентеры вер нулись съ докла омъ, что непріятель требуеть вь 2-хъ часовой сроки сдать ему все вооруженіе и всёхи ворруженныхи армяни. Начальники отряда отошели ки маркара, рашиви тами задерживать туроки у шоста верезь Аракси-Турки заняли Амамличи продолжали наступленіе. Отряди началь отходи на Кишляки и далье ки караклису. Послано новое приказаніе Амамлинскому огряду отходить на Делижань. Вдоль жел. дороги на правлени: Караскій крыпостной полки и Ханесурскій и Лорійскій батальони.

Получено донесеніе, что черезь Новобаязеть прошло много солдаті армянь карабахцевь съ пулеметами въ тыль. Полк. Бей-Мамиконянь донесь о своемь безвыходномь положеніи и о необходимости принять условія турокъ.

Нам. тен. Назарбекова возложено правительством поручені е войти въ соглашеніе съ турками о перевозкі турецких войск по жел. дорогі въ Дтульфу. Генераль выражаеть по прямому проводу свое удивленіе возложеніємъ на него веденія переговоровь съ трками въ то время, какъ сами турки, совершенно опреділенно не желають ни о чемь разговаривать, а прямо требують все, что хотять.

Ген. Силико нь доносить: 21го мая около 17 час. за вязялся бой под Сардарь-Абадомъ у Эриванской жел. дороги. Сардарь-Абадокій отря дв ото-шель на линію Кара-Коюнлу, Керпалу и Зейва армянская. На Игдировомъ направленіи армянскія части закрыпили переправы черезъ Араксъ, имыя конницу передь Маркарой.

Въ 9 час. утра получено донесеніе изъ Караклиса, что Караклись ванять турецкими во сками. Создается обстановка полиаго отръзанія корпуса оть Тирлиса. Ген. Назарбекомь еще разъ настойчиво убъндаеть правительство поспъшить съм заключеніемь мира.

23-го мая Лорійскія роты, разстрылявь всь па троны, сситы турками со вськь позицій и вь 22 часа оставили Ахалкалаки. Отступали посившие и за недостаткомь перевозочных средствь сочти и взорвали продудти и снаряди.

Эполучено долесение о движении турецкой колонии на Выз Абарена.

и о наступленіи на Караклисъ. Ген. Силиковъ донесъ о своемъ наступленіи на Сардарь-Абатъ, пока довольно успішномъ.

Приказано остаткамъ полковъ съ имуществомъ отходить ва Делижанъ въ заранъе намъченные пункты.

Опя ть настойчивое ходатайство командира корпуса о скоръйшемъ заключении мира во что бы то ни стало.

Приказъ объ отетупленіи за Де ижань отмінень. Рішено задерживать непріятеля у Караклиса.

На Александропольском в направлении снова занять Караклись. Ръзкая перемъна въ настроении солдать и отиде овъ общии подъемь духа. По до-несениять противникъ занимаеть Амамлы. Отъ Андраника донесении не поступало: на рушена связъ. Приказано изъ Караклисъ двинутъ войска на Амамлы.

25-го Мая къ 12 часамъ 24-го Мая развъдка изъ Караклиев выдвину: нута на Амамлы и Джелалъ-оглы. Въ Амамлы 300 аскеровъ.

На ориванскомъ направленін у Маркары была перестрыла .28-го Мая четники напали на поведъ, шедшій въ Эривань Лавалу.Подошедшія армянскія части разогнали нападавшихъ, убивь 40 человыкъ.

ИЗЪ ТИФЛИВЕ ПРИбыль паровозь съ вагономъ и из немъ одинъ ивмецкій обицеръ съ 2 ивмецкими солдатами изъ военноплънныхъ. Делегація
ген. Карганова, вхавшая из Александрополь для переговоронь съ турками, вернулась пъ Санаинъ, ввиду непаденія на дорогу курдовъ. Казахскій отрядъ деинутъ въ Делижанъ.

По нашимь частямь, отходившимь къ разъвду Арчуть, турки открыли орудійный и пулеметный отонь и повели наступлені е вдоль кел. дороги. 4-й батарех удачно отвіжала. На помощь конниці направлены 2-й свойный и 3-й

ный и 3-й странковый полки. Палъ семрью героя деблестный капитанъ Гургенъ Мовсесянцъ, лично ведя часть своей батареи въ атаку въ конномъ строю. Получено донесеніе Андраника, который 22-го мая, послѣ 2-хъ дневнаго боя у Дълалъ оглы, отошелъ
къ Дисиху/Десхъ/, куда прибылъ 23-го. Приняты 4 турецкихъ парламен
тере на риванскомъ направленіи , послѣ Сардаръ-Абадской побъды,
продолжается соприкосновеніе съ противникомъ. У Сардаръ-Абадской карманѣ убитаго турецкаго офицера найденъ черновикъ реляціи, изъ
которой видно, что въ бою 21-го мая дъйствовало 3000 пъхоты ту-

Дро атаковаль и сбиль турокь стверные Бань-Аберана. Вы конной атакы у сел. Кондахы-Савь зарублено 30 аскеровь и I офицерь. 2

26-го мая Караклисскій отрядь перешель вы наступленіе, обходы правый фильних турокы черень гору Гяда-Маймехь. Обходы удался правый никы выбить изы Хеджи-Кара и сы высоты 1010 восточные этой деревни Одновременно сы фронта атаковаль полк. Карга новы и овладылы позиціями вы районы высоты 750. Труки бымали. Одной конницей изрублено 200 человыхь. Потери непріятеля велики. Подбито одно орудів.

Па приванском в направленіи бой къ съверу отъ Башъ-Абарана.

Охваченный съ фланговъ Башъ-Абаранскі отрядъ отошенъкъ районъ

Казанфаръ-Караклисъ, гдъ соединился съ отрядовъ полк. Долуханова,

27-го мая на Караклисскомъ направленіи съ утра турки повели обратное наступленіе и вернули утраченныя наканунѣ позиціи у горы Гяка-Ма.мехъ.Резервовъ нѣтъ.

На Эриванскомъ направленіи турки начали отходъ отъ стан. Араков въ Сардаръ-Абадскомъ районъ. Армяне перешли по всему бронту въ наступленіе.

Съ Безобдала доносять, что турецкая колонна 500-600 человъкъ обходить нашь лъвый флангъ съ высоть 1010 и 1017. Другая колонна 300 человъкъ спускается къ зимевкъ Ирханды. Двъ колонны, до 800 человъкъ каждая, двигаются отъ Амамлы на Эфенди. 2000 турокъ и 6 орудій идуть по шосее отъ Гюлякара ка къ югу. Около полка съ въюками замъчено по дорогъ отъ Куреали къ Гайда рли. Около ба та льона съ 1 орудиемъ заняли хребетъ Гадя-Маймехъ.

Командирь корпуса доносить Національному совъту, что временно

дъя улучились, но мирь надо заключать немедленно.

Къ в черу турки на нашемъ правомъ флангъ, наступая на Гергеры, оттъенили роты I-го своднаго полка съ Безобдала къ Ишлягу. Полк. Картановъ изрыскодовалъ вой резервы. для занятія висоти вотовчите Безоб дала. Отнять у турокъ висоту малмехъ не удалось. Полк. Карганову приказ зано выделить I полкъ въ резервъ и занять линію II20, 2-Ахивать-Ага-юртъ-Кишлякъ-высота 962. Остальной фронтъ старый.

28-го мая турки глубокимъ обходомъ нашего лъваго фланта вышли въ тылъ Караклиескаго отряда и у сел. Вартанды отръзали ему путъ отступленія. Большая часть полковъ отступила къ Пагали. Турки, по служамъ, захватили 100 орудій.

Войска приведены въ порядокъ въ районъ Воскресенки.

29-го мая Баль-Абаранскій отрядь подошель къ высоть Баль-Абарань. Посль сальнаго огневого боя турки отброшены узгоры Чингиль и Полиджа² Они перавли въ контръ-атаку, боли снова отброшены и отступили.

на Сардаръ-Абадскомъ направленіи занята станція Адагезъ. Г-й и 2-й Ванскіе полки изъ ривани направлены въ Семеновку. Приказано гем. Силикову усилить отрядъ дро, т.к. посль разгрома Караклисскаго отряда турки несомнънно перебросять свои части къ Башъ-Абарану.

Опять вездь певля убъгающихь вы тыль дезертировь.

30-г ная на Баль-Абаранскомы направлении от брошенные турки остановились и закрапляются.

На Сардаръ-Абедскомъ направ оніи заняты 29-го мая селенія Н.Талинъ и станція парабурунъ, съ развёдывательными частями въ Алагезь и въ Мастаръ.

Турки заняли Караклисъ и зартанлы и дальше пока не идуть. Замьчено ихъ скопленіе въ районь Талчарухв.

Отря з Андраника выступиль въ Делижанъ.

Пто бъ корпуса перешена изъ Деликана нь Н. Акты. Ген. Андранику приказано по прибыти въ Деликанъ принять Деликанский отрядъ.

Получена телетрамма Агороняна ,что вы Батумы выбхала делегація для заключенія мира, а у станція Ашага-Сераль взять ву плінь полк.Кар-гановь.

3I-го мая новаго ньтъ.

I-го імпя на Караклисском' направленім Андраником' направлене

черезь Ногосъ-Килису въ ущелье ръки Булдукъ чай/Балданъ-чай/ для развъдки дль сотни, а одна рота отправлена по носсе изъ Деликанъ на Никитино. Учебная батарея стоитъ въ ПогосъКилисъ, І рота и І сотня въ Деликанъ, 2 рота и І сотня- на перевалъ у Семеновки. Остальныя части Андраника-на пути отъ Дисиха къ Деликанъ. Развъдка турокъ тоходила до Никитина. Въ Деликанъ нътъ продовольствія, поэтому Андраникъ доноситъ, что больше 2 дней онъ оставаться не можетъ. Ему приказано держаться и отходить только подъ напоромъ.

Андраникъ получилъ письмо начальника турецкой дивизіи о томъ, что Турція заключила съ Арменіей миръ . Турки предложили командиру корпуса перемиріе. Ген. Назарбековъ отвётилъ согласіемъ.

2-го іюня получено донесеніе съ Башь-Афаранскаго напраденія: турки І-го іюня проявляли активность, но были нашей артиллеріей остановлены.

Получено письмо турецкаго командующаго войсками, что въ Батумъ мирные представители объихъ сторонъ постановили съ 12 час. 19-го мая 2-го ими приостановить военныя дъйствия.

На Сардаръ-Абадскомъ неправ ніи у Мастара, въ сторону станціи Алагезъ завязался бой. Къ 17 час. неши части развернулись на фронтъ Нижній Талинъ-Карабурунскія высоти. Наступленіе турокъ остановлено. Бой прекратился съ темнотой. Ночь прошла спокойно.

3-го іюня на Сардаръ-Адабекомъ направ еніи 2 роты и 2 эскадрона турокъ заняли селеніе Эшнякъ. Туркамъ предложено очистить селеніе, т.к. оно занято ими послі объявленія перемирія и -установить демаркаціонную линію: развіздъ Богутлу и Н. Талинь съ одной стороны, и станція Карубурунь и Эшнякъ- съ другой.

Полк. Пирумовъ вступилъ въ комендовені е I-й стрълк. дивизіей и донесъ, что полезнье было бы ее считать уже расформированной, а вмые ето нея сформировать хотя бы одинъ боеспособный полкъ.

Получены условія мирнаго до говора Коти

4-го іюня спокойно.

Андраникъ доноситъ, чве ввиду подписанія позорнаго договора, онъ уходить съ фронта.

5-го імня изъ Узунтала доносять, что со стороны Казаха слышна сильная орудійная и ружейная стрыльба.

Общія затрудненія со снабжені емъ. Соотвітст жение съ этимь проис-

. ходить перегруппировка частей.

Національному сов'яту сооб емо, что отря з Андраника исключена изъ состава корпуса.

Получено письмо ! амиконяна объ образовені и самостоятельно. Арменіи.

6-го іюня Андраника ушела иза Делживна.

Полкови. Багда сарову приказано собрать за Деликана новых отрида.

7-го іння русскому добровольческому огряду разрышено на свой ристих дигаться из Титлису.

8-го іюня спокойно.

9-го 1еня въ Карсскомъ конномъ полку сетелось только 6 вседивковъ Остальние заявили, что уходять из Андренику, а из Делизань не желеють.

Получено извастіе, что въ араклиса турки перебили планныхъ офицерова армяна. Копія письма объ этома отправлена командиру турецкего корпуса.

10-го 1юня бколо 10 час. на Каракананской переправа курды патались переправиться на ладий береть Араксайно отогнан и огнемь и отошл ли къ Кульпемъ.

Андррникъ изъ Новобаняета, доноситъ, что укодъ его есть единое желаніе всего отряда. Ген. Силикову и полк. Багдасарову послано приказаніе исполнить требованіе турокъ отойти за условленную границу.

II-го іюня на Караклисском напрявлені и передовия турецкія части расположены восточиве Воспросеновки.

Тайчарукским отря осы связь ст Башт-Абаранским отрядоми ном не установлена Заняты лишь пункты Соуджь-була гъ-гора Чингил -вноота 1322,9 и наблюдается дорога, ведущая изътатерских деревень Аллахиот и Кабахлы вз Арзакендъ и Алакароз.

Багдасаровъ доноситъ, что его солдати бъгутъ къ Андранику, и на до эвакуироватъ Делижанъ, потому что темъ никто не хочеть оставать ся/ яма/.Передовия части турокъ стоятъ западиве Бозикенда и Никитина, которыя запаты армянами.

12го імня 2-му отрълк, полку приказано внетупить вы Чубухли вы распоряжені є Багдасарова.

Посланы вездъ распоряжения отвести войска из новой границь. Получено извъсти с подписани и въ Батумъ нириате дововора. Турки требуютъ пропустить ихъ по нел. дорога на импължа пова 13-го іюня комендирь корпуса просыть Кіявимь Карабекирь пашу отвеети свои войска на Башь-Абаранскомь и Караклисскомь направленіяхь.

Одъ не проситъ, ввиду неприбит и правите льстна, слочить съ него единоличное рашение политических вопросовь, во ложивъ ихъ на Эриванский Національний совъть.

14-го іюня спокойно Кіявимъ Карабекиръ паша проситъ ген. Наварбекова прислать въ Александрополь представителей для переговоровъ Делегаты посылаются.

I5-го іжня командующему турецкой арміей сообпается с высылкі делегаціи въ Александрополь.

I6-го іюня спокойно. Войска отошли къ новой границь. Въ райсив Карадию паника населенія. Приказано успокоить.

17-го іюня Векибъ паша предлагаеть командиру корпуса до опрельленія армяно-грузинской границы оставить турецкія войска на жел.д.линіи Александраполь-Садахло. Особо уполномоченний Арамъ высказывается,
что турокъ нужно отвести съ Караклисскаго напраленія, а границу съ
Грузіей охранять армянскими войсками.

Въ Александрополь прибыла делегація ген. Теръ-Акопова.

18-го іюня комиссія въ Александрополь приступила къ работь. Турки настанваюто на оставленіи нь ихъ рукахъ Караклисскаго направленія. чтобы грузины не оккупировали Борчалинскій увадъ. Ген. Теръ Акопову предписано не принимать никакихъ окончательныхъ рышеній самому безъ санкців штаба корпуса.

19-го іюня турки требують ликвидеція армянскихь бандь, яко бы появившихся въ районь Эчміаданна. Ввиду отхода турокь изъ Воскресеновки въ Вартанли, пояк. Багдасарову приказано передвинуть 2-й поякь перевъ Деликань въ Никитино. Отъ Пагалинкъ Тиблису отправлены З эшелона турецкихъ йойскъ. У Садахло элишень бой/мъстний/.

20-го іюня турки требують къ 22-му іюня переслять ихъ плъмныхъ изъ Эривани въ Александрополь.

21-го імня спокойно мелкія перестражи са найками. Турки просята прекратить даятельность армянских шаека, дайствующих протива и втанка мусульмана. Турецкое комендованіе предлагаеть держать за линіей граници няшь небольшое количество войска для поддержанія порядка.

22-го іюня спокойно. По агентурным свёдьніямь, нёмцы и грузищи заняди станцію Санамиз. Оть полустанка Айрумъ до Тифинеа армяне свободне ёдуть въ Тификсъ и обратно. Баненцева не пропускаюта ва Тирлиса. Ва Эриванскома радона нападенія татара на армяна.

23-го іюня на Башт-Абаранскомъ направленіи турки отощли до линіи Дюскентъ-Геволдаръ, восточнёе новой границы.

19-го ,19-го іюня нѣмцы вели бой съ мирними жителями татарами а монеть и съ турками. Нъмцы дошли до станціи Калагерань, черевь которую турки проходили на Казахь. Въ Калагерань бронированные пеъзда съ нѣмецкими флагами. Въ дисихъ прибыли нѣмецкіе офицеры. Были армяне, желавніе поступить добровольцами из нѣмецкія войска, но ихъ не приняли. Кем-н-иръ Нѣмцы сказели, что въ Баку англичане.

Командиры корпуса объясняеть Кіявимы Карабекиры пашы, что армяне насилій нады мусульманами не чинили.

Кіязимъ Карабскирь папа объясняеть при какихъ обстоятельствахь произошло убійство армянь обицеровь въ Караклись.

Эриванскій Національний совъть сообщаеть, что мусульмане нападсють на армянь.

24-го імня очередная организація фронта. Спокойно.

25-го імня спокойно. Получено извъстіе, что части 9-й турецкой дивизін выръзали априму армина-мущина на селеніяха Согутли, Ширванджука, Махмуджука, Мирема и Кондахсаза.

Въ Эриванскомъ отрядъ у сел. Койласаръ перестрълка съ та тарами. Убито о 40 человъкъ.

Волска предупреждены, что турки, возможно, длинутся изъ Казака черезъ Башкендъ и Чардахлы.

Вев руссків обицеры и военно служащіе оставили Джульбу и направились къ англичанамъ.

Кіязимъ йрабекиръ папа сообщаетъ, что армяне напали на турецкую развёдивательную партію и требуетъ не повторять ю добныхъ случаевъ. Объ этомъ послано ген. Силикову и Арамъ пашъ. Ген. Теръ-Акопова проситъ разоружить вей въстныя шайки.

26-го Іюня Турки опять жалуются на враждебную діятельность армянских містних бандь.

27-го Іюня на Башъ-Абаранскомъ направленія и турки и армяне проч прочно укрѣпляются другъ противъ друга. на занятыхъ линіяхъ. Турки занимаютъ Гюзель дере армянское, высоту Ахкула, сел. Мунджухлы, высоту надъ Кешишъ-кендомъ и высотн надъ Чобанъ-Каракрмасемъ Армяне заиммаютъ гору Чингиль ,съ заслономъ въ сторону Гюзель дере отъ Дускенда до Кондахсаза и далье-гора Петататъ и Деварансъ.

Андреникъ-въ Нахичевени, гдъ имъ резрушенъ жел. дорожный моетъ
Организована летучая почта по линіи Караклисъ-Делижанъ-Казахъ
Въ Новобаязетъ посланъ I-й запасныя полкъ для возстановиснія перяда
ка.
Выяснено, что стычки въ рейонъ пахичевани -дъло отряда Андраника, воююща го съ непропускающими его татарами.

Получены свъдънія изъ Тавриза отъ 7-го іюня, что англичане дижутся изъ Міане на Тавризъ и изъ Саккиза на Соуджъ-Булагъ.

28-го іюня турки за линію, установленную мирнымы договоромы еще не отошли.

Послано приказеніе начальнику 2-й дивизіи въ Эривани немедленно прекратить насилія надъ мусульманами.

Каталикосъ всъхъ армянъ объявлюеть всъхъ му сульманъ въ Арменіи поль своей защитой/телеграмма Вехибу пашѣ/.

29-го іюня Эриванскій Національный совыть просить разрывенія прислать въ Александропольскую комиссію своихь делегатовь.

30-го іюня. Генер лъ Назарбековь опять напоминаетъ Вехибу пашь, что ему нада отвести свои войска з установленную мирнымъ доворомъ границу.

І-го іюля турки реквизирують вы занятыхы мёстносряхы оружіе лошадей, фуражы и казенное обмундированіе. У Санаина-5 эшелоновы на-менко-грузинскихы войскы. Вы Санаины нёмщы и грузины реквизируюты фуражы, хлёбы и все казенное. Грузины сы татарами не воюють, но обезоружили Борчалинцевы и сожгли у нихы нёсколько деревены.

2-го імля турки просять пропустить черезь Делижань ихъ эмелонь 600 аскеровь, идущій изъ Караклись въ Казахъ. Приказано не преля тетвовать.

Ввиду обязательства арминской Республики, согласно мирнаго договора, очистить Баку ит арминских войскъ, турецкая комиссія, чере в ген. Терь-Аконова, запрашиваетъ, какія мёры принимаются по этому поводу. На это отвічено, что связи съ Баку ніть съ ноября.

Кіязимъ Карабекиръ наше опять пишеть, что армяне въ Камардо нападають на мусульманъ и грозить имъ наказані емъ 3-го іюля командирь корпуса опять приказываеть принять всй мёры противь всяческих разбоеви и насилій. Туркамь сообщено объ этомъ распоряженіи.

4-го іюля штабу Армянакой конной брижеды приказано перейти въ-Канакеръ.

5-го йоля особего ничего.

6-го иоля перемиріе на нарушалось.

7-го імпя изъ Титикся оберъ-квартирмейстерь по прямому провод‡ предупреждаеть быть готовыми къ внезапному выступленію турокъ. Турки опять предъявляють разныя требованія противъ разбоевь и при.

8-го імля въ 9 час. утра турки повели наступленіе на Керпалу. Началея бой.Въ II час. обозначилось движеніе и на Зейву. татарскую: турки подошли къ ней на 200 шаговъ. Парламентеры прекратили огонь. Начальникъ турецкой дивизіи потребовалъ немедленнаго очищенія полосьи до линіи Айланду, т.е. -Зейва татарская.

Въ II час. 5-й армянскій пожъ отошлев, какт ему было указано. Около ІЗ час. партиванскій пожъ отбросиль турокъ отъ Керпалу.Больная шая колонна турокъ длинулась на Зейву татарскую. У насъ убито 2, ранено 4.

Въ райснъ Чобанъ-Кара ю в. Вараршапата обнаружены менкія части турокъ. Около 15 час. турки, выбитыесь высоть у Керпалу, отошли къ высотамъ 427-404. У нихъ обнаружень І батальонъ противъ Керпалу, 2- противъ Айланлу и 2- противъ Хатунарха/около Эчміадзина/. Татары въ Хатунархъ устроили армин скую ръзню.

Начальника туренкой дивизіи заявиль, что она нарушать уже подписаннаго мира не желаета но должена занять 7-ми верстную полосу
ж.до линіи, чтобы прикрыть движеніе турока на Джульфу. Опять Кіязимъ
Карабекирь твердить, что армяне нападають на татара, а ему отвачають,
что татары нападають на армяна. Украинцама и русскима разрашено акать
черезь Караклись по Тириев безь права возвращенія. Командированы турецкіе офицеры для организаціи выселенія мусульмань во Турцію.

9-го іюля въ 8 час. утра два полка туре жой пехоти съ артиллеріей двинутел отъ Келена-Аралыха на Чобанъ-Кара. Противъ Керпалинскихъ садовъ турки молчатъ. Два полка турокъ прошли нодъ Хатунарма на
Келами-Аралыхъ, откуда повернули на Чобанъ Кара, выславъ двъ роти въ
Каракишлятъ. Затемъ колонна повернула на нижико Ниджирлу. Началъникъ

турецкаго отряда заявиль, что онъ займеть Казакендь, т.к. онъ находитея на туреццой территоріи. За ночь къ Хатунарху подошли большія
обозы. Отъ Зейвы армянской чере въ Латунархъ прошла еще одна турецкая
колонна. Всего прошло до дивизіи. Это были ЗІ-й, З2-й и 18-й полки ІІ-й
дивизіи. Колонна головного отряда прошла Чобанъ Кара и направилась
на Н. Ниджерду. Станція Агамзарлу горить. Она занята татарами. Турки
по свёдініямь скопляются въ районь Шарду-Махмедъ-Ниджирлу. Около 23
час. Агамзалу занято 300 аспервами. Командирь Армянскаго корпуса сообщаеть турецкому командованію, что такія передвиженія войскъ наканунь
ратификаціи мирнаго договора нежелательны. Турки поставили у Вескресеновки 2 орудія. Кіязимь Карабекирь опять заявляеть, что армяне нападають на татарь. Ген. Назарбековь возражаеть, что рішать эти вопроси
надо мирно, а не пролитіємь крови, т.к. есть разграничительная комиссія. Кіязимь Карабекирь опять телеграфируеть то не самое. Ясно, что
онь хочеть оправдать свое наступленіе.

10-го іодя въ 8 час. 30 мин. 200 татаръ изъ сел. Арбатъ повели обходъ нашего лъваго фланга и не доходя селенія Вармазяръ, открыли ружейно-пулеметный огонь по армянскімь заставамь. Дежурная рота выбила ихъ. Въ Айланду- турецкая застава. Каракишля гъ и Арбатъ окружены двумя рядами околовъ и заняты всоруженными татарами. Ими же занятъ В. Хату-нархъ. Группы турокъ н татаръ въ направленіи чобанъ Кара и Ниджирлу.

Турки открыто говорять, что они, несмотря на мирь, будуть брать Эривань. ВВиду такого поведенія турокь, войска приведени въ боевую готовность. Командирь корпуса настаиваеть на немедленной прівадь членовь правительства для устраненія вськь недоразумьній съ турками.

II-го іюдя турки заняли Агамзалу и Арбата, отръзавъ Карарлинскій районъ и открыли орудійный огонь по ряду деревень въ районъ Иманшалу, Съ турками наступають на армянь и многочисленные татары. Командирь корпуса протестуюеть передъ турецкимы командованіемы противы избіенія армянь Гарнибас рекаго района и турецкихы звърстны надо Сардарь-Ададскими бъленцами: просить разслідованія.

12-го імля сел. Арбать взято съ боя. Татары отошли къ хачапара ху. У Колали- перестрълка съ татарами. Рота, посланная къ Арбату, обатръляна турецкими бандами отъ хачапараха. Мейтные татары ведуть безпорядочный огонь по армянскимъ частямъ. Въ Камарлю стръльба.

Командиры корпуса просить Кіязимы бея о пропускы, согласно

условій мирнаго договора армянских частей изъ района Джульфы, Нахичевани и Ландухляра. Приказано расформировать 2-й армянскій запас ний подкъ въ Баку.

13-го іюля особаго ничего.

14-го іюля 300 конных курдовь напали на армянское сел. Кохтъ с.в. сел. Башъ-Гарни и угнали мелкій скотъ Высланной 2-й сотнъ партизанскаго полка отбить скотъ не удалось. Выслана эще сотня для нападенія на окружающія Башъ-Гарни татарскія селенія, чтобы этимь прекратить ихъ нападенія на армянъ. Наши потери :убито 2, ранено 3.

Обнаружены признаки, что димгающаяся на Камарлю II-я турецкая дивизія заходить въ тыль Бакинскому отряду. Ожидается прівадь въ Эривань правительст за Приказано оказать почетную встрачу.

15-го імля на Делижанском направленіи жители селенія Чибухи отказались выдать дезертирова Выпущено по селенію 3 снаряда. Вс з дезертиры явились

Іс-го іюди обнаружено скопленіе татаръ у Калали и Арбата. Перестралка. Татары напали на армянъ въ района Карахачскаго общества. Ген. Андраникъ объявилъ Нахичеванскій увадъ неотемлемой собстренностью Россіи на основаніи Брестъ-Литовскаго дововора и заявна виль о своемъ перехода въ подчиненіе центральному россійскому правительству.

Опять переписка съ турецкимъ помандован іємъ о татарскихъ нападені яхъ.

17-го імя съ 5 час. утра татары стрыляли по армискому артил лерійскому наблюдательному пункту у сел. Гаджи-Кишлягъ.

18-го іюля около 16 часовъ татары напали на сел. Кохъ. Турецкое командованіе выразило свое соналініе по поводу боя 8-го іюля. Засіданіш Александропольской смішанной комиссіи закончились благополучно. Для окончательнаго рішенія нікоторых вопросовь, выходящих изъ комистенціи комиссіи, постановлено послать одного илена комиссіи въ Константинополь.

19-го імля въ районъ Колали обычная перестръпка съ татарами. Въ Эриванъ прівхало правительство. Встръчена съ почетомъ всъми войсками и населеніемъ.

20-го імля налявемы участкі дриванскаго отряда татары оня та страляють по армянкамы, убирающимы на полямы жайбы. Командиры

9-я турецкой армін отрицаеть возможность турецкихь ввёрствь надзармянами.

2I-го імля опять стральба татарь по женщинамь и датямь армянамь со стороны селенія Гаджи-Зилярь.

16-го імля черезъ Де меанъ проила въ Караклисъ турецкая рота.
Ген. Теръ-Акоповъ донесъ объ окончаніи дълъ смъщанной комиссіи.

22-го имля на лівомъ участив дриванскаго отря за турки требують разоруженія и выселенія цілаго ряда армянских деревень. Для рішені вопроса посланъ членъ національнаго совіта изъ дривани.

23-го ізля турки обезоружили роты 6-го полка въ Норашень и рекв зировали въ Александрополь имущество 7-го русскаго корпуса. Просител о возрадени его Армянской Республикъ.

24-го іюля ген. Назарбековь благодарить Кіязимь бея за вникательное отношеніе къ армянскимь делегатамь въ Александропольской смышанной комиссіи.

25-го іюля особаго ничего. Текущія распоряженія о порядка и спокойствіи.

26 -го іюля, 28-го іюля и 28-го іюля то же

29-го імля командиръ корпуса просить Верикъ Эссадъ пашу объ отводъ турецкихъ войскъ иъх Нараклисскаго района.

30-го іюля ничего особаго. Текущіл передвиженія.

31-го іюля въ Эривань прибыли генерали: германской армін-Фонъ Крессъ и австро-венгерской- баронь Сонъ Сранкельштейнъ.

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APPENDIX D

REPORT OF LIEUTENANT-GENERAL F. NAZARBEKOFF ABOUT THE PARTICIPATION OF THE ARMENIANS IN THE WAR OF 1914-1918 AND DATED FEBRUARY 14, 1919

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копія.

Въ концъ 1912 года из Петроградь образовался Армянскій Національний Комитетъ ,который возложиль на себя задачу-ходатайствовать путемъ сношенія съ соотвътствующими правительствующими учрежденіями и лицами, какъ Россіи, такъ и иностранныхъ дожавъ объ урегулированіз управленія областями Турецкой Арменіи и улучшеніи невыносимаго положенія населенія въ этихъ областяхъ. Министръ Иностранныхъ Дълъ и Товарища его г. Нератовъ, явившимся къ нимъ делегатамъ Комитета выразили согласіе содъйствовать возбужденному жодатайству и объщали принятъ всё мърн къ разръшенію возбужденнаго вопроса въ положительномъ смысль. Въ этомъ смысль высказались и послы иностранныхъ державъ/Англів, принціи и Америки/.

Заручившись соответствующими мандатами указанных лиць изъ Петрограда, быль командировань за границу докторь Я.Х.Завріевь, которому было поручено по этомув вопросу войти въ сношеніе съ Армянскими Комитетами въ Лондонь и Парижь и кромь того-видьться съ Погосъ Нубарь пашей и совывстно съ нимь возбудить ходатайство передъ правительствами этихъ державъ/гранціи и Англіи/ о жизненномь для армянь вопросъ.

Хлопоты эти увѣмчались нѣкоторымъ успѣхомъ, ибо тогда че была на в начены въ областяхъ турецко. Арменіи генерель-губернаторы изъ лицъ состоящихъ зъ подданствѣ въ маленькихъ Европейскихъ державъ/кажется Голландіи, Порвегіи/.

Въ 1913 году въ Петроградъ прівжаль Погось Нубаръ паша для перего воровь съ министромъ Иностраннихь дёль Россіи о томь, чтоби русское правительство оказало бы полное свое реальное содъйствіе пъ этомь дёль назначеніе генераль-губернаторовь хотя и состоялось, но турецкое правительство приняло всевозможныя мёры къ оттяжка приведеніи вы исполнніе этой мёры и благодаря этому, назначеннымы генераль-губернаторамь такъ и не у алось прибыть къ мёсту назначенія/хотя одинь и прибыльно не вступиль вы отправленіе своихъ обязанностел/.

Тутъ разразилась война и вопросъ, конечно, заглохъ.

Младо турецкая партія, предвидя неизбіжность нолим съ Россіей, и в лая обезпечить себя отъ выступленія противь Турціи армянь, обратила с къ армянском партів Дашнакцутюнь съ предлеженіемь, что сели вы случ

войны съ Россіей армене окажуть помощь Турціи, то они гарантиру ть имъ автономію послі окончанія войни. Партія "Даннакцутюнь" преддежені это отврегла.

Тогда они предложили оставаться во время этой волны пассивными.

Док.

Док.

Док.

Съ началомъ военных дъйствій из 1924 году на западъ, армяне, предвидя неизбъяное выступленіе Турціи противъ Россіи, желали принять живое участіє нь этой волнъ, поэтому черезъ свои комитети восбудили ходатайство въ Петроградъ и въ Тирлясъ передъ русскимъ правительствомь о томь, что би дать возможность имъ принять песиньное октивное участіе нь волнъ съ турками и тімъ самимъ стегь на защиту общихъ съ Россіей интересовъ и совмъстно съ Союзниками съ однол стороны защитить и оградить свои очаги и свои семьи огъ въро смисто виступленія Герзманскаго Союза, а съ другой стороны- имъ ть нравственное право передъ міромъ просить о самоопредъленіи своего народа, тепъ много пострадавшего.

Армяне хотыли выставить значительныя силы, но на это кавказское правительство не дало сопласія въ виду предположенія, что у турокъ въ Малой Азіи нь ть большихь силь, котя фок. Т.Х. Завріє въ и указываль на то, что турки сосредотичили значительныя силы, но этимъ указанія: не придавали особеннаго значенія.

Выступленіе Турціи "совивстно съ Центральными дер ввами, особе но близко коснулось интересовь народовь, населяющих в Кавказъ, а потому, естественно, что народности этика нь особенности и главнымь образовъАрмяне были сильно заинтересовани нь ода гопріятномъ исходь ел, съ одной стороны нь видахъ огражденія самихъ себя, а съ другой— въ видах освобожденія своихъ братьевъ-армяно, населяющихъ Труцію, отъ турцікат ига. Воть почему армяне съ перваго момента возникновенія боевыхъ съ Турціє дъйствій, нервно слідили за всёми першпетіями боевыхъ съ ствій союзнол армів и напрягели всё свои сили, дабы доказать всякое седёйствіе къ бла гопріятному и успішному окончанію навизанной настромотите праточбійственном и кровопролитной бойнь.

Съ началомъ открыт ія военных ділствій въ 1914 году съ одушевлонісмъ и энтувіавномъ Армяне заполнили ряды канкасской армі и.Въ част кі ихъ сыло до 40-504, и П и ПП корпуса въ такомъ состава двинулись въ Европейскую Россій для ділствій противь Германіи и Австріи.

Привител и тно изъявило согласів на формированів наскольких отділ

ных армянских дебровольческих самостоятельных дружинь, на что и последовало распоря еніе Верховнаго Главнокоман дующаго Въ сентябрь 1914 года приступили лихорадочно къ формированію 4-хъ дружинь Во главі этих дружинь стали народные герои: Андраникъ, Дро "Амаваси» и Кери. Пружины эти были быстро пополнены и двинуты съ объявлені емъ войни съ турці ей: 1-я въ Персію, 2-л въ Алашкертскую долину, 3-я въ Башкей и 4-я въ Ольтинскомъ направленіи. Численность дружинь была отъ 1000 до 1200 человъкъ. Тутъ были люди со все го свъта. Дружины организовались и содержались на національныя средства, а отъ правительства было отпущено 200000 рублей для начала дъла и ежемъсячно отпускалось по 10 рублей на калдаго добровольца.

Дёломы организаціи и содержанів дружины руководилю національное воро, которому армянскимы обществомы/россійскихы и заграничныхы армяны/оказывалась широкая помощь. Дружины были причислены кы регулярнымы частямы и выполняли какы развёдовательныя, такы и операціонныя задачи.

Съ самато начала военныхъ дълствій дружины принимали большое участіе въ боевыхъ дъйствіяхъ и засдужили лестные отзывы начальниковъ отрядовъ.

Послъ декабрьских боев въ 1914 году дружины, сильно потрепанныя безпрерывними боями и перехо ами, были от ведены въ тык для отдыха и пополненія.

Въ началъ 1915 года былъ созданъ Араретскій отрядъ, подъ началъ— ствомъ Вартана, состоящій изъ 2-и, 3-и 4-и дружинъ, который вошелъ въ составъ/отряда/ ген. Николаева и принималъ гланное участіе во въятіи вана и очищеніи южнаго Ванскаго побережья.

I-я дружина дълстювала въ Персіи подъ Дильменомъ въ разграмь от ряда Халилъ бея и въ его преслідованіи, а послів она была направлена тоже въ Ванъ.

Дальше всё дружины принимели горячее участіе въ наступленія 4-го корпуса въ іюне и юле 1915 года. После іюльских веудачь и отступленія дружины, после отхода, были отведены въ Эривань, где оне въ течені и двухь месяцевь пополнялись людьми и снаряченіемь и въ конце сентября выступили на передовыя позиціи. За время отдыха была сформирована 7-я дружина подь начальствомь ки. Аргутинскаго. І-я дружина участвовала во взя тім Битлиса. 2-я- Хныса, 3-я делствовала на южномь берегу Ванскего озе-

ра, а 4-я и 7-я — въ Персіи на Урмійскомъ направленіи. Для полполненія этихъ дружинъ въ Эривани быль запасный полкъ. Контроль надъ дружиньми находи ся въ рукахъ Распорадительнаго Комитета. За время своихъ боевыхъ дъйствій дружины несли значительныя потери убитыми и ранеными. Дружины оказали значительныя отличів. Всь командиры дружинъ были награждены Реоргіевскими престами.

Семьи убитыхъ и раненыхъ, за малымъ исключеніемъ, содер ались на національныя средства.

Лѣтомь 1916 года дружины были перебормированы вы стралковые армянскіе батальоны/6 батальоновъ: 1-й,2-л,3-л,4-п,5-л и 6-й/,которые составили одну арминомую стралковую бригаду.

Послѣ переворота въ 1917 году, когда въ Европейско. Россіи украинци и другія на родности ста и требовать сформированія своихъ національнихъ частей, тогда и армяне стали хлопотать о томъ же Министръ пре съдатель керенскій ничего не имълъ противъ этого, но разрышеніе т Ставки, вслъдствіе быстрыхъ перемънъ въ личномъ осставъ, послъ выступленія Корнилова затянулось до половины ноября.

19-го ноября 1917 года быль отдань приказь Главнокомандующаго кавказскаго фронта о сформированіи Армянскаго Корпуса и одной Кавалерійско, бригады.

Съ респаденіемъ россукой арміи и съ ек ухою ть съ фронта "народності населяющія Кавказъ, бы и предоставлени самимь себъ, и естественно принув дены были спішно формировать свои собственныя національныя во ска/корпуса: Армянскій, Гру зинскій и Мусудьманскій; дививіи: Польская и Греческая/, дабы коть отчасти заполнить оставляемыя уходящими русскими войсками общиріня повиціи и тімъ оградить родину отъ вторженія турокъ, которые воспользовавшихъ уходомь русскихь воскъ начеля двигать свои войска на Кав-кавъ.

Нужно было сившить съ формированіемь Корпуса, т.к., съ фонта уходили части неудержимо, бросая и унистожая богатое вмущество. Брошенное вмущество и склады спашно принимались и оберегались арминскимь Національцевой военных Соватомь и разными арминскими организаціями во вобхъ масталь, гай только возможно было все быно направилно къ тому, чтоби создать части Корпуса для высычки на фрамъ.

Съ помощью населен ім и всёхъ общестненных организаці, спішно прист пили къ формированію изъ містныхъ жителей, частей въ своихъ районахъ для защиты отъ мусульманъ при ихъ выступленіяхъ. Въ это премя всюду турецкіе эмиссары вели сильную пропаганду противъ армянъ мусульманское
населеніе, бла годаря этол пропагандь, сильно менало формированію фрмянскаго Корпуса. Оно задерживало передвиженіе частей, провозъ снаряженія, обмундированія, продовольствія и пр., нападая на жельзной дорогь на ст. Садахло, Сандаръ и въ релонахъ населенныхъ мусульманами
по Эриванской, Караклисской, Макинской, Джульфинской, Караклис, дорогамь
и портили телеграфную и телефонную связь и містами ра зручали пути
сообленія.

Грузини, дълая видъ, что они сочувствуютъ формирование корпуса, въ дълствите вности при первол возможности старались мішать этому подъразними пре логами. Вотъ при какихъ тяжелихъ услевія кообстоятельствахъ приходилось формировать корпусъ, между тім в противникъ уже открытъ военныя дълствія.

Обстановка была следующая: нужно было занять г окадный фронть оты Колкиты почти до Банъ-калы. всего имьлось лишь полковь 2-хъ батальоаннаго состава, хотя и быль приказь о раз ворачиваніи этихь по ковь нь 3-хъ батальониме., но приказа не успёли выполнить.

Такъ какъ онъ быль полученъ во время отхода русскихь частей, которые съ собой увлекали арминъ, препятствуя имъ силою оставеться на
позиціяхъ. Голдаты заставляли ихъ спъдовать на Свъ Калказъ I-л, 3-л, 4-л
и о-л полки стояли около г. Эривани; 2-л полкъ на Мушскомъ направлени, а 5-л на ванскомъ.

Т.к. нужно было занять огромный район в фронта, для чего конечно, недостаточно однего корпуса, ръшено было сформировать еще одну сводную дивизію, которая переименована была в особый оградь/приложеніе списокъ сформированныхъ Управленій, учреждені и частей вы сводномъ отрядь./

макъ ивдно въ періодъ формиро анія корпуса и послѣ ухода русскихъ во скъ, на границѣ завоеваннихъ въ Турціи областей, нако цились исключи тельно національныя части Армянскихъ во скъ.

Въ началъ января 1918 года обастановка рисовалась слъдующимъ образомъ: въ Тирлисъ формировался штобъ Армянскаго Корпуса изъ русскитъ армянъ, батарен и парки I-й дивизіи Кавелерайскій полкъ и штабъ Своднаго Отряда, табъ I-й дивизіи въ Александрополь, а 2-1 дивизіи въ г.

не несмотря на то, что за дъло формированія било приступлено съ

маднол энергієй и подъемомъ, тімъ не меніе бользнь, которою была зарачена русская армія не могла не отразиться на солдатахъ остальніх. народностей, въ томь числь конечно на солдатахъ армянахъ, вотъ поче у ряди національныхъ волскъ туго заполнялись и успашность формированія національныхъ волскъ шла изъ ряда вонъ плохо.

I de l'in late l'estre le 2 de la contrata de sarvi

штабы, личным составь обицеровь были заполнены до вольно быстро, но солдады шли очень и очень неокотно и из конечномы результать, когд при одили примазы главнокомандующего занять войсками тоть или друго районь "линь армянскія войска и та из невначительномь чисть могли выполнить непосильныя для нихъ задачи.

Немелую роль из неблагопріятном формированіи арминских волска сыграли слухи, недчась сильно преувеличенныя о звірстнях творимех турками надъ біженцами, которые сотнями тисячь покидали насиженныя ими міста, и уходя втлубь страни увлекали съ собой и своих синовей и мужей, долженствующих стать из ряды войскь. Дезертирство , имівшее місто и вы русских войсках, начало принимать большія разміры и, къ довершенію всего, дезертиры стали узодить изъ рядовь во скъ, укося съ собо оружіе и снаряженіе, беря и туть примірь вы русских солдать, которые покидая Кавказь, уносили съ собо все оружіе и увозили всю артиллерію. Оружіе армянамы нужно было для защиты своим очаговь оть мусульмань.

При таких условіях не им'люсь возможности давать военным влементамь, вливавшимся въ войска, все необходимое для борьби съ врегомъ имъвшимь большол опить за три года войни съ русскими войсками,ободраннымь слабымь сопротивленіемь, оказиваемымь кучками хребрецовь-добровольцевь.

При этомъ канкавское правительство, несмотря на сравнительно боль пол \$ армянскихъ волскъ, въ оравнени съ остальными національными возасками, старалось чинить всевозможныя препятствія къ достаточному спебженію армянь оружість и боевыми принасами и ставило рядь необъяснимых въ то время, препятствій къ совершеннол готовности Армянскихъ націонь нальныхъ волскъ.

На фронть, оставленном русскими во сками, оставались лишь сибш не сформированымичести/кромь 2 и 3 полктат/, подъ управлен ісмъ сще существ ющьго штаба фронта кавиавской армін. Въ эрвинджань эрвинджанскій полкъ швъ русско-подданних армянъ, служевшихъ нь туркестанских полкахъ

Туркестанскаго корпуса; в Эрзерумь-Эрзерумскій полкъ/ваз турецких арминъ/; Эрзерумскій запасний полкъ. Туда же перекинуты были изъ города Эривани 3-л Арминскій полкъ/2 бет./ и 6-я рота 4-го полка.

Изъ Эрзерумскихъ частей былъ сформированъ Эрзерумскій отрядъ, а въ послъдствіи и Эрзенджанскій полки и Эрзерумскій отрядъванасний б-нь сведены въ особую бригаду съ дивизіономь горной артиллеріи особаго отряда.

Въ помощь регулярнымъ частямъ во многихъ частяхъ была сформирована мидиція/хумбы/-Сепо, Мурадъ, Теръ-Гевондянъ, Торкомъ, Пандухтъ и пу Отъ гор. Книса до Ванскаго овера позиціи въ сторонѣ Мужаса Битлиса заниваль 2-1 армянскій полкъ, въ номощь ему изъ турецкихъ армянбыли сформированы Хнысскій и Караклисскій полки, впослѣдствіи слившіе сяво вторую бригаду. Особаго отряда.

мянье вз вань находился 5-л полкъ и въ помощь ему сформированный изъ турецкихъ армянъ 1,2 и 4-л занскіе полки, составившіе впосльде ствіи 3-ю бригаду Особаго отряда. Охрана Макинской жел. дороги была поручена Макинскому полку и Макинскому жельзно-дорожному батальону.

Видя тяжелую обстановку армяна, турки и курды ва янтерь 1918 года перешли на возма фронта ва наступление и окручили арминджана. Эрзинджанский полка, посла ряда кровопролитимха боева 7-го января пробился череза долину Еррата и 1-го февраля присоединился ка арверумскому отряду, дальнайне бои ва района медижана-Таки-Дара си-Илиджа были не ва пользу армяна. Турецкая артивлерия была значительно болье обученной, весь феврала пода рверумома или значительное бои.27-го феврала отряда принуждена была оставить арверума, при чема во имя сохранения жизни населению/мусульманскому, т.к. только оно и осталось/было рашено порожовыха и динамитныха складова/1000 пуд. пороху и 2000 пуд. динамита/не варывать, т.к. тогда все население погибло бы. Масса складова продовольствия, боевыха принесова и оруди. было оставлено ва эрзерума, за невозможностью вывезти ранае, ввиду отхода русскими войска, которыми была занята узкоколейная дорога.

Эрверумскій отряда стела отходить на безпорядка на Сарыкамына. Отхода прикрывала конница Мурада и Торкома.

I-го марта отрядъ сосредоточинся въ Сарыкамы в хотя передовыя чаети /Торкома/ на Караурганъ и Зивинскомъ перевалъ.

27-го же февраля бы з отдана приказа оба отхода и анмескато отряда, отошедшего частью на Кеприкей, Каракурта, частью на Кона-Меллакарта и Каракимер.

1-го марта, согласно приказа г авнокомандующаго Армянскій Корпуст быль переименовань вы Отдальный, а штабь армін расформировань. Начальникь штаба армін быль назначень начальником в штаба корпуса в накоторыя лица изъ штаба армін влились вы штабь корпуса.

въ концъ февраля штабъ корпуса съ 1 ма конных полкомъ переъкалъ въ Александрополь. 2-го марта командиръ корпуса выстъ съ оперативнымъ отдъленіемъ штаба переъхалъ въ Сарыкамышъ.

Тъмъ временемъ въ тылу продолжалась усилень за работа по формированію частей дивизі и и особаго отряда, а так е по вывозу изъ громедныхъ Сарыкамащекихъ складовъ боевыхъ припасовъ, снаряженія, обмундиро ванія, продовольствія и пр. матеріальнаго богатства. Вся эта работа усложнялась недоброжела тельнымъ отношені емъ мусульмань и курдовъ, которые продолжали портить связь и дороги.

на борьбу ст ними приходилось отправлять ст фронта, гдт была боль шая нужда вт боевых единицахт, значительныя силы и всупать ст ними вт бой, вольшим, препятствісм кт выпеуказанному служила малочисленность подвижного состава. На вст просьби вт Титлист вт бентральном Правленіи о высылкь подвижного состава и бронированных повядовт корпуст получиль отказь, а между темъ и то и другое высылалось на Сарижамыша вт значительном количествт. Грузинскими секціями, для забора богаствт изъ Сарижамышских складовт г-на врданія, предлагаль имъ выслать еще бронированный потядь, если недостаточно, а командиру корпуса для операціонных дъйствій отказывалось въ этомь.

Ва началі марта приказомі г авномомандующаго послідовало на значеніе комендантові кріпостей Карса и Александрополя безі подчиненія первоначально командиру корпуса, Районі Ольты и Ардагані билі включень ві стеру Грузинскаго корпуса, ное спустя нікотореевремя, грузинскій корпусь этказался исполнить возложенную на него задачу.

Отъ этого задача обороны Сарыкамища, Карса и Александрополя значительно усложнилась, т.к. силъ армянскихъ было не постаточно для выдъленія въ этомъ направленіи особаго отряда.

Противникъ 9-го-м съ 9-го на 10 -е марта перешелъ въ наступленіе въ разонь Караургана. Птабъ корпуса, согласно ре споряженія главнокомандующаго, перевхалъ 10-го въ Александрополь. Во главь обороны стояль начальникъ 1-л дивизіи. Несмотря на то, что изъ Александрополя экстренно были посланы подкрыпленія и пополненія, все таки для правильной обороны песиціи оки были незначительны. Нужно было вийграть время для резгрузки

Сарыкамыша и приведснія крыпости карса хоть вз кокае нибудь обороноспособное состояніе. Части особол дивизій были направлены на Селимь и на Николаевскъ въ исполненіе боевого приказа. Поэтому пришлось прибътнуть къ помощи разныхъ хумбовь, въ особенности для охрани фланговь.

элементь очень неустойчивый и ненадежных Турки по ели энергичныя атаки фронтальныя съ охватомъ и обоихъ флинговъ, а въ особенности наше го праваго. Отрядъ сопротивлялся безъ смъны и отдыха II дней, не имъя почти ни обуви ии шинелей, несмотря на снъгъ и морозы, и только будучи угрожаемъ обходомъ праваго фланга со стороны Бардусскаго перевада, принужденъ былъ отойти на Бегли-Ахмедскую позицію, что и выполнилъ образцово съ 2I-го на 22 е марта, взорвавъ оставшіеся незначительные склады. Послъ отхода, на 3I-л день начальникъ отряда хотълъ перейти въ наступленіе, но тогда сильны. Туманъ не позволилъ это выполнить. Было приступлено къ укръпленію позицій.

Паденіе Батума почти безт сопротивленія сильно подъйствовало на моральное состояніе войскъ. Всьмъ ясно было видно, что армянскія части одни должны были сражаться съ противникомъ и что задача стала горавдо сложнье и труднье.

4-го апраля посътиль Александрополь главнокомандующій кавкавскимь фронтомы вмасть съ французскимы представителемы осмотріль части расположенныя тамы/резервы корпуса/ и остался очень доволень видомы посла и ныхы; посла этого оны повхаль нь Карсь, гда осмотраль крыпосты-нешель, что много сдалано за короткій срокь для обороны крыпости. 6-гопражаль на позиціи. Туть нель бой Турки перешли вы наступленіе йослы полученія подкріпленія цало дивизів: Осталея очень доволень состояніемь войскы, что и выразиль командиру корпуса.

Для обороны г омадной позиціи Бегли-Ахмедскай было недостаточно, резервовъ почти не было. Всё стояли на позиціяхъ при учасной погодё: снігъ съ дождемъ безъ смёны. Всёми средстами мусульмане въ тылу и правительство въ Тирлись старались мішать подвозу подкрепленія, отказьомъ въ подви номъ составё и задержкой вооруженными бандами, пулеметами и даже орудіями на станціяхъ Сандарь и Садахло.

8-го, 9-го и 10-го апраля съ боемъ войска шагъ за шагомъ стали отходить къ наружнему Карсскому крапостному району къ Ахъ-бабъ и Аравартеми скимъ украпленіямъ. 10-го апраля была получена телеграмма за подписъю пред съдателя Министровъ Чженкели и военнаго министра Одишелидве, что пере-

миріе заключено съ турками, надлежить сдать крыпость Карсь туркамь, для чего надлежить войти въ переговори съ турецкимъ команднымъ соетавомъ. Труки долени до сдачи быть допущены къ крыпости къ верхамъ не доходя 5 верстъ Когда эта телеграммя стала извъстна войскамъ, она какимъ то образомъ раньше была извъстна, чъмъ командиру корпуса, она стали подъяствовала на моральное состояніе ихъ. По прямому проводу былъ вапрошенъ главнокомандующій Національний совъть, но ничего нельзя было добиться Видимо кто то съ цълью мывалъ Когда вомска увидъли нашихъ парламентеровъ, направляющихся къ туркамъ, то это обстоятельство большое са зало вліяніе на солдатъ слебихъ духомъ многіе солдати, жители Карсско области, ринулись къ своимъ семьямъ для спасенія ихъ Дороги моментельно были заполнени бъженцами. Никакая сила не могла ихъ остановить все это направилось верезъ Карсъ въ Александрополь, что не могло не подълствовать на войска и вызвалю безпорядки какъ въ отрядъ, такъ равно и ъ

Соглашен не состоялось объ отводь волскъ за Арпачай, согласно вресть Литовскаго договора, т.е. границамъ 1876 года. Несмотря на заключеніе перемирія и на соглашеніе, турки продолжали наступленіе за указанную черту. Пришлось откры ть огонь за крыпостныхъ пруділ и этимъ лишь остановить дальныйшее наступленіе. Кромь того обходныя колонни/цыдая дивизія/ стали заходить со стороны Манры съ цылью отрызать нашь нароскій отрядь, но высланный своевременно изъ корпуснаго резерва отрядь, боемь параливоваль этоть обходь турецкой каналеріи у с. Кизиль-Чахчахъ вегли-Ахмедскій отрядь согласно распоряженія, отходиль къ Арпачаю, задерживая шагь за нагомъ на позиціяхъ. Туда отошель и гарнизонь крипости, а коменданть съ нъкоторыми лицами остался въ ркёпости для сдачи.

Командиры којпуса, через в главнокоман пункаго, просилы правительство во ти вы соглашение съ турецкимы команднымы составомы о разръшения оставить за нами укрыпления, расположенния по ту сторону Арпачая у Александропольской крыпости, т.к. безы этихы крыпостныхы верховы оборона крыпости Александрополь очень за труднительна 7 хадатайство это не было уважено.

Части первой дивизіи и первой и нторол бригади особаго отря за отогля за Арпачай, сильно разстроенными и поръдъвшими, т.к. многія солдаты нто по спасать сови с шьи и имущество. Въ енцевъ било непомърное количество. Вибеть съ армянами были молокане и русскіе, изъ за громаднеро имела ихъ нельзя было выполнить условія объ отходь отряда отъ Карса въ 8-хъ дненный срокъ.

По отхода привнось занаться приведеніемь частей на порядока и укран-

леніемь повицій на флангахь крапости Александрополь. Но вы виду того, что Александрополь крапость была слабая и мало обороноспособная, то приказано было немедленно украпить Д адурскій перевсль. Части Эривано скаго отряда отошли тоже кы границь 1876 года.

До 15 мая части продолжали пополняться прибывающими дезертирами и приводить матеріалоную часть въ порядокъ, а изъ синадовъ продовольствіе, патроны и снаряды и прочее постепенно перевозить въ Эривань и Караклисъ. Это, работъ сильно мъшали бъженцы: армяне, русскіе и греки.

Икъ было громадное количество. Г. Александрополь, въвъ особенности вокваль ими быль запруженъ. Никакія силы не могли урегулировать порядо докъ въ городъ и на вокваль и вырвать у бъженцевь вагоны, занятые ими для нуждъ эвакуаціи.

Посль отхода отъ Карса, где было оставлено громадное количество припесовъ боевыхъ, продовольствія и разнаго имущества чувствувался во всемъ дольшой недостатокъ. Въ Эриванскомъ и Нахичеванскомъ увидахъ, несмотря не перемиріе, продолжали повторяться бонвыя столкновенія съ мусульманами и турками. Конечно, это дълалось подъ руково дствомъ турецкихъ обицеровъ и разныхъ комиссаровъ ихъ.

15-го мая утромь около 2 час., была доставлень коменданту крапост оть турецкаго команднаго начальства пакеть, написанный на турецкомъ языкъ. Офицеръ требовалъ немедленнаго отвъта. Не имъя переводчика, коменданть повхаль на бликайшій турецкій пость для передачи этой бумаги. штабъ корпуса I3 и I4 мая перевхаль въ нараклисъ, остался лишь въ городъ командиръ корпуса съ насколькими обицерами. Пакетъ заключалъ требованія турецкаго команднаго состава объ очищеніи Александрополя. О сдачь кельзном дороги отъ Александрополя до Дтульом и объ отводъ войсковыхъ частой отъ Александрополя на 20 километровъ. Отватъ требовалова дать въ 6 час., а пакетъ быль доставленъ въ половинъ седьмого. Когда коменданть ахаль из турецкому посту, то турки уже перешли границу боевыми цъпями и наступели на городъ и кръпость. Комендантъ, виъсто того, чтоби во звратиться обратно и открыть огонь но противнику, т.к. противникъ уже открыль артиллерійскій огонь по городу, имы крыпостных орудій продолчаль вхать къ посту. Тогда части, на ходящіяся на позіщій нь крвпости открыли огонь по прин.

На повиція стояли части еще непополненния и не вполні сформированния. Бо. завязалоя серьезный Турки повели фронтальную атаку съ охватом

фленговъ Наканунъ въ Александрополъ были собрани болъе 8500 девертиров до распредълентя ихъ по част мъ, они были размъщени нъ кръпости и въ городъ При первыхъ вистрълахъ они разсъялись и невольно внесли панику. Первая дивизтя стояла въ резервъ уступами на флангахъ Она къ ожалънто не дала должнего отпора на флангахъ, стале быстро уходить за Дладжурскі перевалъ Принятия мъри противъ этого не оказали дъйствія. Всл. вель исключительно фронтъвонъ оказывалъ упорное сопротивленте. Андраникъ со своимь отрядомъ стоялъ между Александрополемъ и Ахалкалсками. У него было до 3500 человъкъ пъхоты и конницы съ артили еріей. Ему было посла но приказенте двигаться на Александрополь и ударить въ тялъ турецкимъ частямъ, окветывающимъ невъ правый фленъ. Это приказенте не было исполнено. Онь столь откодить по направленте къ Джала ъ-огли.

Крыпостной гарнизонт и части, не ходящійся на линіи крыпости продолчали оказывать упорное соптотивленіе. Видя, что фленги обойдени и что грозить отряду планеніе. Командирь корпуса приказаль волт вы соглашеніе съ турками, ночью гарнизону и всімы частямы отолти къ Д аджурскому пе ревалу. Коменданту съ накоторыми липами по его усмотранію остаться вы крапости дя сдачи ея этряду, находящемуся на лавомы фленгы и состоящему изъ 1-и и 2-и бригадь Особаго Отря да отходить на ривенскій отрядь.

Съ отходомъ частей, урожении Эривенскаго убада и близь лежащих мьстностей оставляли ряды частей для спасенія своихъ семействъ. Туда же направился 2-й конный полкъ, состоятій исключительно изъ эриванцевъ.

Такима образома произошела ряда собиті одина въроломиве другого:

спанала-сдача Батума, потома приказа оба оставленіи без в бол крипости

карса, велідетвіе педписантаго перемирія,-из иналь- перехода турока

череза Аршачай у Александрополя во время перемирія,-и армянскія войска,

не остаточно сформированныя и сидоченныя и при тома са одной стороны из
нуренныя безпрерывными боевмии д'яствіями и ужасной погодо, а са друго объятыв ущасома турецкиха звърства окончательно дезорганизовались поте
ряди безенцена которые ка этому моженту предславляни стихійное море бъ
гущиха и ищущиха спасенія людей.

Такимъ образомъ, турецкое пребование о сдачь жельзной дероги и объ отходъ отъ этого города на 20 километра-окло выполнено. Казалось сило, ту ки должим были остановить дальный ее свое наступление, но къ сожали по этого не было. Турки, спуста инсколько дней посль паден и Александроноля повеля свое наступление на воемъ фронтъ. Въ Эривенский отрядъ постание стель отходить за Араксъ завлавлись бои на всемь фронть, а главных образомь вы трехъ пунктахъ около Караклиса, Башъ-Абарана и Сардаръ-Абата. Тутъ шли упорные бои съ перемъннымъ успъхомъ, а нь особенности эт двухъ последнихъ были вначительные успъхи. Андраникъ, занимал выгодных позиціи-Безобдальскія горы и джалаль-ошли, не оказаль туркамъ доста точнаго сопротивленія и, очистивь эти пункты, поставиль вы тяжелое положеніе Караклисскій отрядь. По линіи жельзно, дороги на Сандаръ и Садахло, задерживались мусульманами не только одиночныя люди, но и команды разстръливали ихъ безпощадно, а въ особенности обинеровъ Такимъ образомъ было разстръляно даже нъсколько начальниковъ частей.

Отко и вглубь свой страни, волска оставались без в продовольствія, снаряженія, имін съ собол массу бі енцевь, голодных и раздітыхъ. Положеніе создалось очень и очень тяжелоен и поэтому рішено было согласиться на всь условія, требуемыя турками для заключенія мира.

I-го імня быль заключень съ турками миръ на весьма невыгодных условіяхь. Такимъ образомъ, экончилась тяжелая борьба на главномъ фронть. Но армяне продолжали вести борьбу еще на Вакинскомъ фронть, гдь задерживались благодаря татерскимъ виступленіямъ въ Елисаветполь. Эшелоны армянскихъ волскъ, идущихъ съ западнего фронта, въ закавнавье, закаленныхъ въ суровихъ бояхъ.

Татарскія бенды въ теченіи всей войны, способст овавнія усліку туре каго оружія, впослідствіи явно присоединились къ турецкимь войскамъ
и такъ сказать-усилили ихъ мощь, даван имь не только живую силу, но и
предоставляя имъ необходимые для питанія вталь, на которыхъ были заготовлины провіанть, продукты и фуражъ.

Естественно, при такомъ положени дела, армянинь -солдатъ желая огра
дить свою семью отъ зверстнь, какъ со стороны врага, такъ и -соседей тотаръ, не могъ спокойно оставаться въ рядахъ войскъ и обжалъ къ сеобъдумая своимъ присутствиемъ и съ оружиемъ въ рукахъ хотъ несколько защитить
сеоя и семью отъ веевозмо ныхъ насилий и убийствъ, чинимыхъ его семью съ
двухъ сторонъ.

Вся эте грустная ис торія вы жизни арманской націи въ особенности за послідніе дна года не безъизвістні всімь, а нь особенности- державаю согласія, т.к. представители ихъ, въ битность ихъ среди нашихъ войкъ для стязи и наблюденія за ходомъ развивавшихъ собитій на Канказъ, не могли не видіть всего того, что творилось надъ зімянскимъ народомъ, съ наказ

энергіей она работаль нада созидані ема національниха войска, даси оказата посильное дайствіе державама согласія и конечно, уже далали соотватствующіе доклади своимь правительствама. Са распадома Закавкавскаго правительства, са отдаленіема Грузіи и Азербейджана армяне вынуждены били объявить свою самостоятельность и, будучи, предоставлены самима себа, тама не менае ни на одну секунду не покидали оружія, продолжал тама привлекать на себя взори и сили противника и такима образома щилля виаста са гор. Баку протина себя около 8 турецкиха дививій, долженствово: шиха при отсутствій этого "армянскаго" фронта быть переброшенными на вапада на помощь Германіи.

Несмотря на всь тяжелыя условія, въ которых оказалось Арменія, тв пертви, которыя она несла съ первыхъ дней войны, ряды ея войскъ все попо... нялись и полнолнялись. Несмотря на голодь, охватывавшій страну, нина отсутствіе одежды и пр. снаряженія и боевых припасовь, ничто не могло поколебать стойкости этого народа и къ моменту развязки/ разыгравшейся драмы на западъ, армяне имъли твордое и кръпкое ядро, могущее быть брошеннымъ на любомъ направлен і в него, конечно требовала бы обстановка Несмотря на то, что грузины для огражденія своихъ интересодь, безопасности и прочности созданнол ими республики прибътнули къ помощи и покровительству Германіи, а азербейднавци къ покровительству Турців, армине, будучи замкнуты въ невначительномъ участкъ и окружены со всёхъ сторонъ врагами на этомъ "концетраціонномъ" лагерѣ ни на-одну секунду не думали последовать примеру своих соседей и мечтать о союзе въ врагами всего ніра съ тымь, чтоби спасти свое физическое существованіе цаной предатель ства и выступленія протива Согласія, совыбстно са которыма они проважи всю войну . Армяне рашили или погибнуть или добиться справедливаго рашенія своел участи, катораго они здали лишь отъ Державь Согласія, и даже въ минуту особеннаго успъха германо-турецкаго оружія и полнаго своего . безсилія- не протянули руки й не просили покровительсти ненавистынка побъдителей. Такимъ образомъ арминскій народъ со своими войсками, до конца оставаясь подъ ружнісиз, принималь посильное участі е въ борьбі съ врагали всего міра и вивств съ Дерчавами Согласія способетвоваль ослабленію вравражьей мощи, а потому кочечно, справедливо заслужних внимание со сторон STREET REPRESENT OF CHARLES PROGRESS OF THE PROPERTY PROPERTY OF вуль татакъ, къ которымъ приведеть окончание войни, и тамъ-возвативлять себ! за ть исключительныя жертви, которыя понесь этоть народъ,предоставленный самому себь и окруженный со всыхь сторонь врагами.

> I4-го февраля I9I9 года. Г. ∂РИВАНЬ.

> > Генералъ-лелтенентъ НАЗАРБЕКОВЪ.

ЧАСТИ УПРАВЛ НІ . С ФОРМПРОВАННЫЯ ВЪ ОТ БЛЬНОМЪ АРМЯНСКОМЬ КОРПУСВ.

Управленіе от бльнаго Армянскаго корпуса Нон- волная с о т н я. /Первая Армянская Стралковая Див. Управленіе дивизіва. 1-й Армянскій Стралковый полкъ. 2-й " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " "	1-й Александропольскій Крыпост. по л к з. 2-й Александроп. прып. прып. полкз. Карсскій крыпостном пых. полкз. у Партизанскій Армянскій пых. полкз. Игдырскій Армянскій пых. полкз. Жанессурскій Отдыльный бата люнз. 1- Армянскій этапный бата люнз.
" " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " "	2-й Армянскі. Этапный батальонь.
рілская бригада. І-я батарея 2-я батарея	Армянская Отдъльная конная бригал (1-й Армянскій конный полкъ 2-й " " "
3-я батарея 4-я батарея 5-я батарея 6-я батарея √2-я Армянская Стрілковая дивизія.	Армянская конно-горная батарея. Шартизенскі. Армянскі конны полка. Карсекі Армянскій конны полка. 101-я Армянская Особая Конная сот
Управленіе дипизіва	Армянскі Портирны Артиллерійскі пизіонъ.
5-й Армянскій Этрілковый полкъ 6-й " " " " 7-й " " " " " 8-й " " " " " 2-я Армянская Этрілковая Артиліе-	I-я батарея. 2-я батарея. Армянскі Мортирный Парк. Артил. ди Карсская крёпостная артиллерія. Александропольская крёпостная арти
рійская бригада І-я батарея 2-я батарея 3-я батарея	Армянскій Саперный бетельонь. У Карсская крыпостная саперная рота. З-й Карсскій Авіаціонны отрядь. Корпусное Радіотелегрёнся отдалені
- 4-я батарея 5-я батарея 5-я батарея	Автомобильная Радіостанція. І-я Отд.Полевая Радіостанція. І-я Выминая радіостанція.

Армянскі рученно-пулеметный

пар.див. Александропольская кръпостная пъхотная бригада.

І-й Александропольскій Крыпост. пъх. полкъ. 2-и Александроп. прап. прак. полкъ. Карсскій крапостном пах. полка. Партиванскій Армянскій піх. полкъ. Мгдырскій Армянскій піх.полкъ. Ханессурскій Отдъльный бата вонь. I- Армянскій этанный бательонь.

Армянская Отдъльная конная бригада. І-й Армянскій конный полкъ 2-1 " Армянская конно-горная батарея. Партизанскі. Армянскі конны полкъ Карсскі Армянскій конны полкъ. 101-я Армянская Особая Конная сотня. Армянскі Портирны Артиллерійскі лиизіонъ.

Армянскі. Мортирный Парк. Артил. дивиз. арсская крыпостная артиллерія. Александропольская крапостная артиллер рмя нскій Саперный бет льонь. V арсская крыпостная саперная рота. -й Карсскій Авіаціонны отрядъ. орпусное Радіотелегрунся отделеніе. втомобильная Радіостанція. -я Отд.Полевая Радіостанція. -я Выниная радіостанція. 2-A "

Кавказская Автомобильная рота. Эриванскій Армянскі вапасный б-нъ 5-я Автомобильная рота. Елисавети. " Нахичеванск. 17-ая" Сводный Армянскі стрядъ. I- Армянскій піх. запас. полкъ. Управление отряда. 2-4 " I-я Армянская Особая пъх. бригада Тилифлисскій Армянскій запас. батын Эрзерумскі Армянскі пь полкъ. Армянская Унтеръ-от ицерская школа. Эрзинджанскій " " " Армянское отдъление коннскаго запас І-я Арм. Особ. Горн. Артил. дивизія. Армянскій запасный эскадронъ I-й Особый Армянскій конный полкъ. Армянская Учебная батарея. 2-я Армянская Особая пах. бригада. Армян.Полев. Учеб. Телет.к манда. Анысскій Армянскій піх. пожъ. Военно-санитерныя заведенія: Караклискій " Перевязочный отрядъ и I лазаретъ. 2-й Особыя Горина артил. дивиз. 2-л ариянской стралк. дивизіи. 3-я Армянская Особая пъх. бригада. Перевязочный отрядъ I и 2 лазароты I-и Ванскій Армянскій пахот. полкъ. 2- Армянской страж. дивизіи. 2-1 " Лазаретъ Своднаго Армянскаго отряда. Макинскій 456 и 490 Пол.подвич.госпиталя. 3-й Арм. Особ. Горн. Артил. дивиз. 386 и 391 пол. запас. госпитали. 2-й Особый Зентунскій Арм.кон.полк.Туркестанскін госпиталь. Особый Армян. пъх. запасный полкъ. Краснато преста. Управлені е Полевого Инспектора удар-Каубманскій госпиталь. ныхъ частей Кавказскаго фронта. Криснего Креста. Лорійскій Тузем. Стралк. полкъ. Военно-Ветеринарныя заведеныя: Шушинскій Армянскі, страж.полкъ. Эрзерушскій Этапный ветврин. явларет: Ахалкалак. " Сарыкамышскій " Кажахскій русско-арм. стрълк. полкъ. Александроп. Нухинскій Арм. Стралк. батальонь. Ветеринари. Лазар. при Армян. Отлъл. Ахалцихскій" Конскаго з а п а с а. Лорінскій Армянскій багальонь. по охранъ ж.д.Тирлисъ-Александр. Армянскій б-нъ по охрань .д. Джульфа-Александрополь. Управление Арм. Пах. зап. бригады.

APPENDIX E

LETTER OF GENERAL A. KOULÉBIAKINE TO M. I. PAPADJANOV OF APRIL 28, 1919

Konli

Tuestonaylarraeword!

Consaeno Samen mesanis nepegan Sams mumo: when y new Jourse, um mense umobre manupi: ано составлявиям миот васим - историческая orepas. yracuve apulus & wipolor Lawin ". Ho co requesto bee ino muesto repusada, M.K. Ka onourance not ongress myigh wen certain compount eye news : goaqueeun noemyna nova meneps u nago consaul eye miso bon, corpayeur yuenneur, donousar u nis. Roman moro novamonore nepraga nago u cosend nepepadamalaine der budy normynusuurs ustan ecus cuarrino near Porpaguinas, "Mosaurunder nipressour : parpasan priquo garre ne numas bacomes origination maker, reproduce sponous rurecher Chilgo allorede agumen spaint mo, mu equel near pyroso, a odicar chief Tygenin savourena nocun. In nhequaraenour me. mepiain eaut cycycomleune mastris komoraks a flam certaer de carraceones janoenna ne mory. npusino Immacacamo rassabrus ospajaur nepiaga onposesation Janes Consti u noainquier la recontient сивотой у Саронамония, кареа, мисаениброном, ка: particula un Ipulaneaum ompregn"). Topamare all myeute Inun regiage camo ego suestur gasmer. nocion Apurenera roprogea & Saus Bremaan gas & companyours bonness up to prycaan ory pulse her kor y mombin, up tomoper to maureme numerius obujee exemanin recase npegenia breute o main, mos morda melopunoes na goposimo. Apunaran manne Konta mener penner in neperoboxoh no upe no en musbady wirdy Rapicous , Sucacantpenouques in Muspin court, ochriquenyder cgary raque a dues: Dynaw, mis Maur, uparme ber monis namenians nousemen condant your bause ongrususe repainas regione que goniaga meun, ign omo oxamenias men. is smot paromos i centraes nocualien os netopaques maruelae, normu sestorkagnae, novarienie, draragen omacjy naprawemu cysing upobaw nasono Siopo no yerkanabyem nomep apulurur bi in pedyo Rosing. no yerkana byento nomen apolisur & in pelyo " borne" compression my sea u opequindo a jaconorumo es compres: (4) Marrison upostar countralism man bay

oncepshaeur & repegioner ne mu gree & more mement he britains on your be regy? I cele me representations he britains of negatives passines resulced, me narlauf ero negementament, me pegineties of present naragulatives of magnuer, me pagy ne noume pecolacies noquare munica es causous regions pasonts, a moner us memos français na pequenta es presentant na me, amore nestame en man ompagamenta o reperment na me, amore nestamentamentar fa resonançae gener. Memo homous français morament for un magnet sur man renarementament o un mamment for un manyor. Mysuy homo remainement of the man members of possible de man mamment for un manuel me mestament de man members de mestament de men members de membe oregone, a menet ween, well bobelaous congran ustress. nowy bees class newsorty and granul would not former. now been one again. ware nafamil omage napramerine haccuruoland денет не такко на прадольней маст труда, по nua ornainy en jo upegodyage spens, elde copuante omagohaemes gebonint ud heay njou emeg man. I cue ompro us une rupejar ne mostro kaas ne arepegnyo Mars more: sintellanquer meder canonosis. governeur jasouruid naranique padoney no ne upry, nome my mis neus unuacour Ina canciant. Mon ommertio nomuneació que que valueans laine, Une meune ceptiquais oregas regimes trems, a to Besnows congran ne 3-4 merceys, so mercus comegas, marino masko rae-kaar montusununun yenobiska caspain reptonarlevoure namepiass, a camo e nucaute no numer venopir novembre naramer morse, no nampleur namepianas. Up upediaraemen haspy neuwar repuebors onuceued to fugue, mue padome agent, nocacoray Imo boj deureno адплани уже фавачно мист. / вабота по дохумента, preut repytrant a konomicielas.
Aprenduce, mus deprovos gais que assum popuyong cuismo o maney arount composer borgoes, no queverantato Our dyun ruleau Maranounaro yentre Bupagnand: mour Maum noremnous a orubraran Cenara gran nover Maum noremnous a orubraran Cenara gran n crachmulano ny memeculità a uped rbants los popanys. Bhus M cepterus par y worments hower years a formeneur hors nonumerocaux radure Apulaceare vapage er comenum somopers u mun apuncace reperment ne Invertocur emoste kejabbenurer ques u omnomma R capaya emorses Bengusaads. Nopor wun desienes sur каписанте поручения ущих васим - истем. recain arepa - was coloubennae gypotuse gra

пикани такіл абуртивства, которы вом основана ка normous your request, mes nadamerlendo ymbepquin san Mo, originance patornicae, janet un nom rever, a mengy man vanue cause repature runlepeer refacuspreum empagasom ga eux v los naase roviemun men rae boeur, nair cer res. Hen mon compygunae, suaradaps spormerlesomy nemeamain gener your orinagament oringandionimes patoria. ellano more: Anaoniopae up weeks onenapolacionel onegand une more monageer y weeks never me gosomal manegirado e men. coemabiliand onucanis go miner nope, note juin a sydepur unaceus sapasonamens um gentre. Paron markas un maner quialists ne marke meangunpou, no a beconge xaar- In Ins we down paroneaul? If con us, we newgrant chain. No cagejuranis, bornigregeus mensue granayonua speux na njeucaanie cemopyrum japasonikas, n. x. Sejonavocana ruepet ne regens, ukaregout que apeg. Their A oren yours, most made mercendo a rapid: weams Apueus yeverware yaure warders Imoung for poer. eller cestae nous reducesono rainenes, mis naturely mpyly ne njugarnes nuraron juarreis. Usmo nun calepurenco nenonomino. Ma un, agn nipamenie. comme invitoroto na nyagoboulculire a besuse enadre. ня, оконо которым хоришения пошиворовая кош. reembo barraro puea abuner a madurer energedamos ne nakagunce enedench que natteponaciós nepyrolucas?)
nepe, neugy ur nemojsto mar casoner, comojone to muo de mo un cinano nago nemegnemo a, acar murmo cas. note all munit nepeds benow ut pour, nonvery ments onatomo pajenajame bieling kejsemy pudang recobrecials ne esouur conspinkam, mui our egodam ja Inny borkey nomany mui mosow na oenahan beennosoma peto yenver u gonajamen grannah musum ngegrebelen a chon remojureeds repedblands a namedanis. I jaan, mu napaban is baenen-nemopureenun oregander nu' memor a nomemmereean numopir apurueans napaga To report been puer busar, no readur per spuent Down Shot Daemas, Jackan . Juanut Duy just ed a pago onucaut, a nonumureceas came cosoro formerecen, y nie up ket . Me lormeraceni up borro u lu chaguno ros booker, a bun Imon Janandobaccian apegra & cycynomic non werero, - waendarshe sen namenewseeste continue norm united alecented Coloras Melyselle Iny Garana Macau republicaro napulo menepo sorto promidenci nome por nome apular costo producero Apular come sor separationes nome communicario de accurato come communicario de accurato communicario de accurato communicario de accurato de acc nocmers so ou d'un consequence cept y n'un une une trubanitur, a romance de nougheur toguarinent gobienne en go rompo u er bajuarinoro nepenemono. Oriman, mu Jame nuisuenne, une una esta, ujente is njuliamensoman er famina aprinque, i a sonoma apringans na cipie d'uno que tono de berbus grouno a rievamesom.

Ucapenus far yharrangir afegamor

28 Lupres 0919.

Mugnus. Nor?.

J. peppor of empany vanucaus whow every extense gas far hugh repanses oregan us empres upercuse opening was far hugher upercuse requisition was a commented or opening the far of the far when the frequency far orenrement and frequency of the power over the farmer over th

M. W. nanadremoly.

APPENDIX F

THE BULLETIN OF THE SOVIET REPRESENTATIVE IN BATUM, COMRADE ZVEREFF, DATED OCTOBER 25, 1920

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EDENETERS CREATERIN ORS APPRIENCED APRIL ES 25 ORTHERS 1920 P.
                        Calginia comitenaro Представителя во Батукі - тов. SERPERA/.
. Кавалерія:

1/ ПРегулярная бригада — 2 нежна т.е. 32 ефицера, 114 сабель, 2 пуле
метних команди / 16 пулеметовь и 382 ложий.

Матальникь бригади — Полковникь КОРГАНОВЬ / Архангелогородского п./
Штаба на Авсксаядрополь.

2/ Конний Карабахокій дивнейска — 17 офицеровь, 286 сабель, 8 пулеметовь — Командуеть Полковникь ТАРХАНОВЬ — Штаба на Зангезурі.

3/ Конний двинейска Гезировь — 3 офицера, 200 сабель.

Командуеть ШАХБАГОВЬ — Втаба на Эчинаданий.

4/ Сосунскій мриний отрадь — 300 сабель — деброводьци нез Сосуна.

Домандуеть — невастний партивень СКІУ — соративка національних геросевь какь Андраникь, Дро и т.д. — Штаба на Казель.
  Пакота:
1/5 бригадз - 10 пакотных полкова.
В каждом полку по 2 баталіона. В баталіона - 4 роты.
Чиоленность полка - 1.500 чел., около 1.000 итикова.
Чноленность полка - 1.500 чел., около 1.500 неправных до 6 /.

Въ каждомъ полку:

а/, пулеметная команда - 15 пулеметовъ / веправных до 6 /.

в/, конная команда развідчиковъ - 30 сабель.

с/ Слушба связя - 10 чел.

1-иК піхотный полкъ - негабъ дъ Караклиссі.

2-ой - въ Карсі.

3-ій - въ Карсі.

4-ий - въ Карсі.

5-ий г - въ Сарикамині.

6-ой - Пітабъ въ Каракли Деливані.
                                                                                                 - By Mraupi.
2/ Отрядь Про. а/ Эрнванскій полкь - 2.000 чел. / полкь этоть уча-
ствоваль вь бояхь вь бангезурь, поэтому численность его не превышаеть
300 чел. — 9 пулеметовь; Штабь въ Канакирахь.

в Конный дивизіонь Ісопровь.

3/ З особить піхотній баталізна, по 4 роти.

а/ І-яй баталіонь - 19 офицеровь, 712 чел., І4 пулеметовь/дій-
ствують только 5/ — Штабь въ Вараргечарі.

в 2-ой бат. — 22 офицеровь, 200 чел, 6 пулеметовь - Штабь въ
Каракинскі.
Караклиссі.
С. 3-ії бат. — І8 офицерова, 650 чел., 5 пулеметова - Штаба ва
С/ 3-12 бат. - 10 офицеровь, 650 чел., 5 пулеметовь - Штабь въ 4/ Эриванскій Караульный баталіонь - 15 офицеровь - 350 штиковь, 4 пулемета, втабь въ Вривани.

5/ Александропольскій Караульный баталіонь - 12 офицеровь, 300шти-ковь, 15 пулеметовь. - Штабь въ Александрополь-крапость.
        Артиялерія:
а/ II конно-горных батарей но 4 орудія / 2 орудія порщневихь/.
а/ З гаубичную батарея по 2 орудія.
с/ Крідостнає артивлерія / Варсті Алексиндрополь/у
сля и 2-ая гаубичнає батарея — въ Канекирахъ.
на гаубичная батарея — въ Делиманъ.
- Конно-горная батарея — Ново-Ваязатъ.
                                                                                             - Ново-Валзаті.
- Бассаргечарі.
- Игдарі.
- Карайда.
- Карайда.
- на грениці Зангезура.
- Карайниссі.
- карайниссі.
        политов акинаво опред
  Бронированных автомовием — 2 но з пулемета — оривана.
Бронированных поведова — 4.

а 1 орудів В дийм., 10 пулеметова в 15 бомбометова — Эривана.

в 2 орудів В дийм., 25 пулеметова, 15 бомбометова — Эривана.

о дереванный, беза обмижки броней — 8 пулеметова — Александропов д беза обмижки броней — 8 пулеметова — оривана.

Авропланова — 4 — Вой повреждени — Кароа.
```

Радіо- Телеграфа - 8 полевить станцій - радіусь дійствія 20-25 версть Инженернихь войска- не существують.
Белізнопорожнихь войска - ніть.

Курсы пулеметные и бомбометные - Эривань -на курсахь 100 чел.

Военная школа - въ Александропола - 100 чел.

Военная пкола - въ Александропола - 100 чел.

Военная Госпиталя: а/ въ Эривани - госпиталь.

6/ въ Карсъ - 2 лазареть.

8/ въ Карсъ - 2 лазареть.

1/ въ Александропола - америк. лазареть.

1/ въ Карсъ - америк. лазареть.

2/ въ Карсъ - америк. лазареть.

2/ въ Карсъ - америк. лазареть.

2/ въ Карсъ - америк. лазаретъ.

2/ въ Саржамишъ - америк. лазаретъ.

2/ въ Саржамишъ - америк. лазаретъ.

2/ въ Саржамисъ - америк. лазаретъ.

2/ въ Саржандето - полосъ боспособностъ еще уменьшилась посяз ухода русскитъ сфицеровъ / націонализація /. В въ связи съ большенито полив. Ориванскій пъх. полкъ, і пъх. баталіонъ.

2/ Боеспособность кавалеріи ниже средняга, кромі Іезидскихъ дивиз.

3/ Командованіе превосходное.

4/ бапаси военнихъ снарядовъ въ ограниченномъ количествъ.

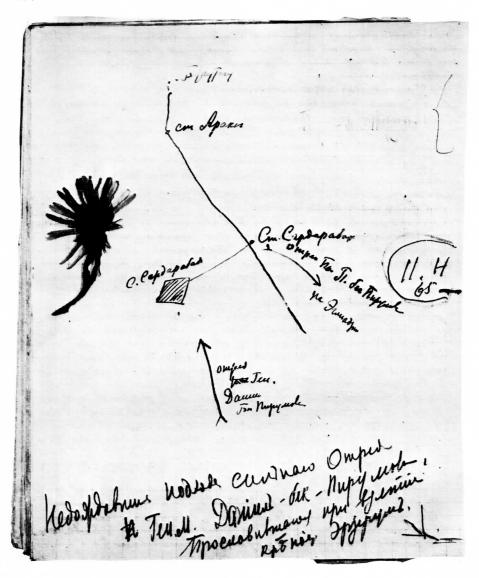
5/ въ связи съ наступленіемъ кемалистовъ и мобиливаціи численность войскъ и ихъ расположеніе незначительно изм'янились.

APPENDIX G

PAGES 98-102 OF THE SECOND NOTEBOOK OF A. K. CHNÉOUR WITH HIS MEMOIRS

Corlopeling Houspegaline. Vipera Lebejund)

Janarene news orpowny rofones cultimes. ontheuse was. 1600 nouprem Me oxomament and chadons, min bue- nout ganem Typrame a nacus papopor. men rypt do some en. Dalutpa. Huseral ce mom rypt do somewn spymanen nachwal ke tot, na comendement enous reprin onsale. 1600 ye one pources omondius ka lon to ene Ausier mint buspamely up refuse dequire le Bjopban bogotarny enadopatungo bodo bes every от Бастур до ст бранся 7.1. привидуреного не периот в 100 береня и прация. То дершие osemptoneme near Jaentine mans ry . To mepalane panemuseur zamos up exores no summente de ospanje Conjal namino compede . Noveekano nama rendon - 300 = 4 Konnui Dubupopo - 120. de sone in branchiseus were aprilungary - dygres de sone inparamente par appringra inparamente Snexemps enarroghues vouce. Primero suro comacuo gupernuta Umas-Copugle omousia luge taffinhe yo Con charen-J. e go omos 2so lanainy Marigone haroful (onous 8 800 gg), a namusias cujon 4 9 falana дошим - пироки осторожно Синдовано за ками

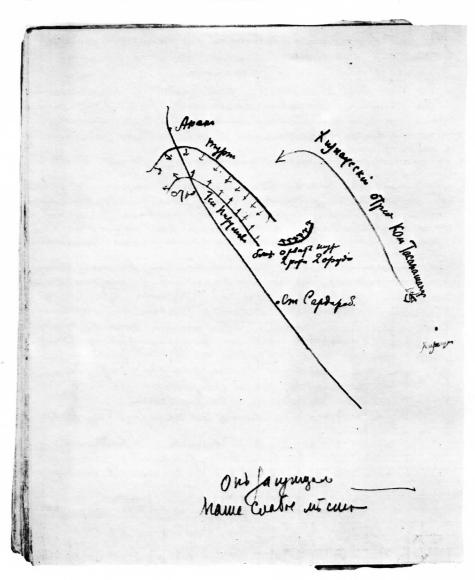


APPENDIX G

Ma om. Apares em Louen l paion spulam 99 yymne a almanafareen argument et no -zanowny - Mar. I Spankern Subape Tim News Cumuly. I beginne to nodrumeins Tourdawy Thepry Fren. Rupgicoly . Showery bouneut a raeneum chees oripeda 1 censes Captap. Asago -Toursmos censul is and kyonas of payment выштрадиние и вкопина интоворании стван Ignit spe cutacen Beingramen Kolas. hour had Laurandon Mara Carenterola Locasan Spunade a posto Com apper haraus neverent gosopusons H. K. Majad. Тоурна пост вренения кодонии узак виста. Араки, а наша бритава отноши на еги Сарворо-Fapour 20 -. Haun racion perfequence oresero ет. варановат .. Тирине попашина окако-Manu otope naubana gaposaum nomen na fraised.

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in infringent Tana buthwafter brepets uper
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APPENDIX H PAGES 88-93 OF *ARMÉNIEN* BY K. ZORIAN

THE PARTY OF THE P

Later and the

ARMÉNIEN

88

déjà emparés d'Erzindjean, d'Erzeroum et de Sarikamych, et s'approchaient maintenant de Kars (2).

Plus tard, après la prise de cette ville, ils devaient pousser sur Alexandropol (3) et de là, d'une part vers l'Est, dans la direction de Bakou, et d'autre part vers le Sud, dans la direction d'Erivan.

Les Arméniens étaient pratiquement seuls à essayer de leur faire face. L'offensive turque se déroulait presqu'entièrement à travers les régions qui, avant la guerre, étaient habitées surtout par les Arméniens, et les Géorgiens ne se croyaient pas obligés de participer à leur défense. Les troupes géorgiennes ne luttaient que le long de la côte de la mer Noire, où elles tâchaient de barrer aux Turcs la route de Batoum, port principal de la Géorgie. Quant aux musulmans d'Azerbaïdjan, ils se désintéressaient complètement de la guerre. Ils n'avaient aucun désir de combattre leurs coreligionnaires et, plus fort, ils croyaient éminemment souhaitable que toutes les provinces arméniennes tombent au plus vite aux mains du Calife de Constantinople.

Les formations que les Arméniens avaient mises hâtivement sur pied pour remplacer les unités russes défaillantes étaient insuffisantes, tant en nombre (trente bataillons à effectifs réduits pour défendre un front de quatre cents kilomètres) qu'en qualité (la moitié au moins de ces trente bataillons n'étaient, en fait, que de simples bataillons de milice paysanne). Aussi, la résistance que les Arméniens offraient aux Turcs était peu efficace; tout au plus, avait-elle permis de ralentir dans une certaine mesure l'avance de l'ennemi. Les Géorgiens n'étaient d'ailleurs pas très heureux, eux non plus : en mi-avril, les Turcs étaient déjà à Batoum.

Au moment de mon arrivée au régiment, ce dernier faisait partie de la réserve générale du groupe sud des forces

modifice par les soviets

⁽²⁾ Alors ville russe, non loin de la frontière turque; appartient aujourd'hui à la Turquie.

⁽³⁾ Aujourd'hui « Leninakhan », sur l'unique ligne de chemin de fer qui reliait alors Erivan à Tiflis et au reste du Caucase (la ligne Erivan & Djoulfa — Bakou n'existait pas encore).

arméniennes. Il se trouvait donc assez loin du front, en cantonnement à Sardarabad, un riche village sur la ligne de chemin de fer Erivan-Alexandropol-Tiflis. Tout le village, militaires et paysans, comprenait bien la gravité de la situation, mais la vie s'y déroulait encore paisible et sans incidents.

Les officiers et les soldats étaient heureux d'avoir retrouvé, pour un moment, l'existence relativement confortable dont ils avaient joui à Van. Il est vrai qu'il n'y avait plus de meetings, ni grands ni petits, mais les discussions politiques n'intéressaient plus personne. Les paysans, en bons Arméniens, s'obstinaient pour leur part, à ne rien changer de leurs habitudes traditionnelles. Ils savaient que bientôt leur tour viendrait de quitter leur village pour aller chercher refuge quelque part dans les montagnes arides et inhospitalières. Mais ils se rendaient compte qu'ils ne pouvaient rien faire pour essayer de changer le cours des événements : ils étaient presque tous trop âgés pour prendre les armes. Aussi, s'étaient-ils résignés à accepter leur sort sans manifestation de sentiments inutiles. Qui oserait leur reprocher leur « fatalisme »?

C'est dans ce village condamné que j'ai eu l'occasion d'observer pour la première fois, une coutume chère à toutes les populations chrétiennes du Caucase. Chaque soir, un peu avant le coucher du soleil, les jeunes filles de Sardarabad venaient chercher de l'eau potable aux deux ou trois puits qui alimentaient toute l'agglomération. Les jeu-nes filles faisaient semblant d'être tout absorbées par leur besogne; elles ne jetaient pas des coups d'œil à droite et à gauche; elles ne riaient pas, et les quelques paroles qu'elles échangeaient entre elles, étaient toujours prononcées à mivoix. Mais leurs robes de toile fraîchement lavées, la grâce étudiée de leurs gestes et la lenteur voulue de tous leurs mouvements montraient bien qu'elles se savaient exposées aux regards des hommes. Et elles l'étaient. Au coucher du soleil, il y avait toujours des hommes autour des puits. Dans des conditions normales, se seraient les jeunes gens de l'endroit, mais on était en guerre et il ne restait presque pas de jeunes gens à Sardarabad. Alors, ce furent les soldats qui prirent leur place.

Ce qui me frappa, c'était la conduite extrêmement correcte de ces derniers : aucune remarque plus ou moins osée prononcée à haute voix; aucune tentative d'attirer l'attention des jeunes filles. Ils étaient tous des fils de paysans et connaissaient les règles du jeu. Ces règles autorisaient un jeune homme à saluer au passage la jeune fille de son choix et à lui adresser, peut-être, une phrase ou deux, — si elle daignait s'arrêter pour l'écouter —, et rien de plus; mais cela signifiait que les jeunes gens, tant les hommes que les jeunes filles, avaient le droit de choisir eux-mêmes leur conjoint. Privilège rare alors en Orient.

ARMÉNIEN

Cependant, l'orage s'approchait. Kars tomba le 25 avril; le 15 mai, c'était le tour d'Alexandropol. Enhardis par le succès, les Turcs divisèrent leurs forces. Deux groupes furent formés. Un continua vers l'Est pour s'emparer de Bakou : les Empires Centraux avaient un besoin urgent de carburants. L'autre se dirigea vers le Sud, le long du chemin de fer Alexandropol-Erivan-Tabriz (4) avec mission de pousser jusqu'en Perse septentrionale, afin d'y prendre contact avec les troupes turques qui avaient déjà remplacé là-bas les troupes russes.

Pour remplir cette mission, le groupe turc du sud devait occuper le cœur même de l'Arménie : la ville d'Erivan ville capitale du pays depuis avant Jésus-Christ — et le monastère d'Etchmiadzine — siège historique du chef de

l'Eglise Arménienne.

Le 21 mai, les avant-gardes turques s'emparèrent de la station d'Araxe, immédiatement au nord de celle de Sardarabad. Le commandement arménien jugea que le moment était venu de jeter dans la lutte ses dernières réserves. Toutes les unités disponibles furent dirigées vers la région où le commandement décida de donner le dernier combat. Le 5° de Tirailleurs Arméniens reçut, pour sa part, l'ordre de quitter le village de Sardarabad et de prendre position à quelques kilomètres à l'Est de l'agglomération. La population civile évacua l'endroit.

Le 23 mai, les Arméniens passèrent à la contre-offensive

⁽⁴⁾ Ville importante persane, à l'Est du lac d'Ourmia.

et, en cinq jours de lutte, réussirent d'abord à arrêter l'avance des troupes turques, et puis à rejeter celles-ci à quelques dizaines de kilomètres plus au Nord.

Je ne m'engagerai pas ici dans un récit détaillé de ces combats que les Arméniens appellent la « bataille de Sardarabad ». Mais je ne puis cependant pas résister au désir d'évoquer quelques images et impressions qui se sont an-

crées dans ma mémoire avec une netteté exceptionnelle.

Je vois encore le 5° de Tirailleurs Arméniens massé près d'un petit hameau, ses bataillons alignés à la mode du XIX° siècle, et, un peu à l'écart, leur faisant face, le commandant du régiment entouré de son Etat-Major. Cela semblait tiré des tableaux qui ornaient les murs de mon école militaire — seuls manquaient les chevaux fringants et les uniformes multicolores d'antan; mais en revanche, on ne voyait pas

non plus, ni tanks ni avions.

Je me souviens des quelques mots que j'ai adressés à mes soldats quand j'ai appris que ma compagnie — avec deux autres — étaient désignées à marcher à l'avant-garde du régiment : je leur ai dit de bien comprendre qu'on ne pouvait plus reculer, parce que le peu de territoire libre derrière nous était tout ce qui restait encore de l'Arménie, et qu'aller chercher abri dans les montagnes serait livrer à l'ennemi non seulement tous les habitants de ce territoire, mais aussi un nombre incalculable d'Arméniens qui y avaient trouvé refuge. Et je me rappelle bien que le commandant du régiment, en entendant mon « discours » a immédiatement réduit le nombre de compagnies en avantgarde de trois à deux. Il devait penser qu'entraînée par ce « fou d'avocat », l'avant-garde serait indubitablement anéantie par les Turcs. Il voulait limiter les pertes; mais ce ne fut pas ma compagnie qu'il retira.

Quand, dans mon esprit, je me tourne vers ce qui s'est passé le jour suivant, après que les étéments avancés turcs avaient été bousculés, je voir surgir l'image d'une interminable ligne de soldats arméniens couchés devant une rangée de monticules tenus par l'ennemi : le gros des forces arméniennes — y compris le 5° de Tirailleurs — était arrivé au contact avec les positions principales turques et s'apprêtait

ARMÉNIEN

92

à les attaquer. J'entends encore siffler les balles et éclater les obus, peu nombreux d'ailleurs, et je me souviens me demander si, oui ou non, je serai touché en franchissant les quelque mille mètres qui me séparaient de l'adversaire.

les quelque mille mètres qui me séparaient de l'adversaire.

Puis, tout d'un coup, j'aperçois, loin à droite, une unité turque lâcher pied et disparaître derrière une colline. Je vois l'unité arménienne qui lui faisait face, se lever et se jeter vers les positions que l'ennemi venait d'abandonner. Le mouvement se propage le long du front, d'une unité à l'autre, et bientôt les Arméniens n'attendent plus que les Turcs devant eux commencent à se replier. Oubliant balles et obus, ils partent à l'attaque dès que leur tour arrive. Mes soldats font de même, sans que j'aie à leur en donner l'ordre

Les positions turques furent prises sans trop de pertes. J'ai appris plus tard que les Turcs avaient dû les abandonner parce qu'ils avaient eu leur flanc tourné par un détachement de volontaires arméniens inopinément surgi sur le champ de bataille. Le commandant du détachement, un Arménien de Turquie, fut tué au cours du combat.

Et je ne puis pas oublier non plus l'exaltation que j'ai éprouvé à voir les arrière-gardes turques se retirer en hâte devant les troupes qui les poursuivaient. Au crépuscule, la poursuite fut interrompue, mais elle devait reprendre dès l'aube, et les unités reçurent l'ordre de garder pendant la nuit leur place dans le dispositif général. Sur le terrain où se trouvait ma compagnie, il n'y avait aucune habitation, aucun abri. Il faisait froid. Une pluie, fine et persistante, pénétrait les vêtements. Pour me reposer, j'ai eu une place que les soldats disaient être une place de choix : je ma suis étendr sur les restes d'un feu de campagne éteint. Mais malheureusement, les cendres avaient encore conservé beaucoup trop de chaleur, si bien que j'ai passé la nuit à me retourner d'un côté à l'autre; il prenait peut-être une demi-heure à la chaleur des cendres pour sécher mes vêtements et devenir insupportable, et il prenait à peu près le même temps à la pluie pour pénétrer jusqu'à ma peau.

Et cependant, je ne crois pas que je me suis jamais senti plus heureux que cette nuit du 25 au 26 mai 1918. Quelques jours plus tard, je fus parmi une dizaine d'officiers que le commandant en chef des troupes arméniennes était venu décorer « sur le champ de bataille ».

Vers la fin du mois de mai, en même temps à peu près qu'à Sardarabad, les Arméniens essayèrent de s'opposer à l'avance turque sur deux autres points encore : à Bache-Abarane, où ils réussirent à arrêter une colonne ennemie qui descendait sur Erivan à travers le terrain montagneux à l'Est du chemin de fer Alexandropol-Erivan, et à Kara-Kilissa, où ils s'efforcèrent, mais sans succès, de barrer aux Turcs la route de Bakou.

Les échecs subis par les forces ottomanes à Sardarabad et à Bache-Abarane étaient, certes, peu graves. Ils firent cepcndant apparaître que si les Turcs désiraient liquider les troupes arméniennes groupées autour d'Erivan, ils devraient engager contre ces troupes une grande partie de leurs forces immédiatement disponibles. Ceci les plaçait devant un problème assez compliqué. Le but principal poursuivi par les puissances centrales au Caucase était de s'emparer aussi rapidement que possible des pétroles de Bakou Suspendre, ou même affaiblir seulement, la poussée vers cette ville pour monter une opération d'envergure contre un objectif d'importance secondaire — contre Erivan — serait manquer aux règles les plus élémentaires de l'art de la guerre. Mais continuer l'offensive sur Bakou sans avoir neutralisé au préalable les troupes ennemies autour de la capitale arménienne serait, cela aussi, prendre un inadmis-

sible risque: les forces ottomanes avançant sur Bakou auraient leur flanc droit et leurs communications avec l'arrière exposés aux attaques des troupes d'Erivan.

Comme cela se doit, la solution des difficultés stratégiques fut trouvée dans une action diplomatique: le 4 juin 1918, l'Empire Ottoman concluait la paix avec la République Arménienne. Celle-ci venait de devenir indépendante à la suite de la dissolution le 26 mai 1918 — sous la pression turque — de la Fédération Transcaucasienne (5). Le traité

⁽⁵⁾ Composée de républiques autonomes de Géorgie, d'Azerbaidjan et d'Arménie. La Fédération Transcaucasienne avait été formée le 20 septembre 1917; elle s'était proclamée indépendante de la Russie

APPENDIX I

PAGES 10-19 OF THE MANUSCRIPT NOTE BY B. V. EGHIAZAROFF DE NORK WITH HIS PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS

. 1876 20ga -Нестотри на перемирие и на согланете турки провольсти наступление за указанную гертур Berry-axyerekai outpet c'ongention Konnen Tacmen 1- m gubuque a lori a 2- on sperate Oco Jaro compassa customo riopedera - congain chacabina cha contra la seculta de la morso, Sencenyel nenomina no riorección de la contra de la contra la (apulla, morokak apyetana) вили принети меры к укреплению подпуш на operantex xpenseina Pricacaniponore, no xpenseine sura Ciretas a hano odoponocnocoduas - B. Anercandponere · exagancé si akone aperecene Jercenya lacmer dombanerara Ouque da ourourre manare Kryenuge 1876 rosa - Myta me 1561 hangablen l'horb c 15to no 16ª Mag, 200 Konatua Nork, Cocuratingua uckstrose mereno uz Spularyel. 15°- ман 1918 года, рано унтром бил доставля комен. Запис Крености паквий на туркухом языке от туризкого командования с требованием огнуения allercant jonors, dara realegnon Topory avercont ponosi-Dreysipa a ombova bonex om arenednipo nous Ha 20 Kunover-pol - He gorcutad our bena zacan k evecuna ympa myg ku negeuna l hacungnouve Soebtinu yensuu, udcerynay na ropod u na krenoun6 -Kowenty Kopnyra. (neckost kasu opnyega au Sul euse le ropod - Umas me Kopnyra 13" 14" mag nepreexas & Keyakani.

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13 6 ropa una 6 cocodner lpyzace. Penerar Hazardenorb, zanbus on He Crumaen Cers le noabe y Deponentario bat zore no estados ymach noemens - Att charogain om borena obszannomen - Zuio go nems, zanenmus on at penus pazienemi go nonya, kan vai on Hu san nerasen cytt by Kronyca u Rowaniya ero, renepala tazar denoba-He way he hadrepanymi zore i ucknowni estare been to the hadrepanymi zore i ucknowni estare mparureage unique of Techniques forighta
tracinalizare bounda -Hi he npouro u stryx zacol, Kak Kaprisura porko unuenuraco. Noru terro genecence le repara lusu-Kota u bee barnas nu syxolu-Hens como bazbera le Umas congrana nala Coshane 20. Coopanie Zacina ofrenagal a newedrena ble con que uns & Kanpelsonen da Kapakuni, zansin ete u затья укрепития на поричих перед Карактион войти в контакт с непризителя и нагать repetror me ompeter c production house, repetror me ompeter c prokuntori nozurjuen repetror me ompeter c prokuntori nozurjuen roukolnung H. Koprano by le nomoral bounce, roukolnung H. Koprano by le nomoral bounce, roukolnung H. Koprano Marka, Konno aproving rouku de propue apropuentane racuse cacuse oguk Sou no doponmy -

Лехошивай полк и три горовен башарец. Months man received, King me He total Mh bacayner du 6 4026 (242 no partedry un Amaura u Dreaman-02.16. of no bello in a le la proper Kaparanca republimente 25 to mas zaberances Jun - Brenten megent Jan youm komaning other of heaven dainagen, governom KanninaH Eypzet Moblecosny, sumo les racino Samapen l amaky 26 - Mas, amara copronua nort. Koprande y chemine - 3 aneine nozagni le planone Concerto 750 - Myrk u Sezym - Odnon Kommyen uzpy reno sorel 200 rerober - Moinepu Kenpusiners bomku-Roddumo odno opydue. Ho opransu Hamu nroxo obeznerena in pegaploby Hac Hein -Pazbedrea gruotua o reginna ne restancement emis nemusine es o mis ga est emy bolinonens cins nemusine es propos la ga. Maiser. Janen 27 m nas negunino y ropu la ga. Maiser. Mai puer parente es pronon ma 4e yenexa noma. Kopranota e sprono ma 4e

Сто поветствуют, к сонемению, с положения на флангах. Ha Hawen nyratom firance byanore Ducura, nyreverbaen Anopanhir co choun 3.500 ontp-12004-Ho Ha nyederineenus noux. Seu-Many-Korekstia amarkand mygor forjekrobna gjanon autjoanex orpandrebarenos enedyrayum zarbnemucan: - Мисизвостон Вартан Намиконовн (repor sobera l'Sopose e nepeame), а вей-Маниконовна и незмат и змат и Bee sme citalum dar borens mismeure noumcome u 28 w nas myrku, rybokung ordagon Hamas opnansol, Buxadem 6 mods Kapaksneck an Dispeta 4 y
Cos. Bapmans on ompegano in Han
nymb om cinynstenus Ha Jonbanckom Hangabrann, nomin yenex aprisen - myrku om x vidin -aprisen nerekodrit, 6 nacmynjenne no beony don o'n my Beeny dop o'n my - bremenhingenen, Hermon por Ma cen bremenhaem Ha Hesseddennon Komandep Kopny ca Habinanbaem Ha Hesseddennon

zaknorenna mupa. (Zumano god rom nodrepsky mi perkyso godreant noux. Kopranoba ogun ambennero an Maranounkol Khyan miccharo ompreda Sår nomnbevaro nom o om tro no cun horenny so eny zadary - Ok njæden sou binerennen remajes enen, nærndeck normen bei bjeng na neged bleax noznyusk nod ny se deintage ozara - OH izpana violet keet chen pezerte ydejsmen dopoum, no ke Ha Hry semanas Kan ynagano bli iye, sum odai gentillitar, omkada y nac ne sandente.

ak sasu or pryncount, in kan zornannte
borku yus nu bropsu, nomogrub bee the bugger our moment gent hawar 35, common in hamy apprano hun hawler be writer to make a north top rano bun hawler lo wrater And panaral a north promise a north top come Ducut, nothing to Henry to toronne Ducut, nothing to me salur on the north of th nje ou mersabun co chound om predosu n nybem bobas cens manenerum yaptrom. Spedemal neped ero Academa orana, mark. Kojs Zanob norguns om kero spruka-3 anne Credobamb za num co been nawen

Andpanux Sun 6 rengrander ux movernay 17. ou Kalnajeraro njenkument cinka le Bugs, zue noux. Kopranob zoni ob npundne Bugs, zue noux. Kopranob zoni ob npundne minkaganut, il martin buinch & portochin gardin Andpaniny, 2 mo un en pro-nodruhent en ne moment gardine, sino hodruhent en ne moment gardine, she le brend Kanakanecking soeb, oh he house of penny Kanakanecking soeb, oh he njumes a navi na nomony6, zino morno Voluzhename beck x og wohemmen. Ornnyl mens chapenalen leg no dout, 19 meie njukazar, a inte norgensy a Me uemer numb ure njukazanne Haheras, nan budno Ha mo, vino Hac Oceni 35 rembor a ou primora racin onified hou 6 3. 500 rember -Bee Into novecko duro paro ympo-ynork. Kopranob npunhan njuranjame
paennedned ben henomenne. u paennedores ber menonnas

ne paennedores ber menos, on erm mas

Kax mie ne emparen no munty xomos

Audrahuka emas nyrabo na ent renegad
call galono unen nyrabo na ch. leopus

call galono unen nyrabo na ch. leopus

uañosa kax xabarer gonomos opyran)

mañosa kax xabarer mak ne zonomos opyran

y e limenenu (unes mak ne a maku na

y e limenenu (unes mak ne a maku na

Западном фрокие, командуя полка полка. Ho cum dana Ha congrove Anyanika. Ho njunajanue ero man u ocinainel lettre-morte m. K. K 12- u zacam, nonymb chedenny o nym humennn myperant cur, oup do eno cusnos u ucrez, zavail o namen cynycembolanin. estai me, zpynna l 3/2000 best naudonman. Existinance bropax, Depone a Hangabacune на Антикан - В одном из ущемий, нас атаковали артивнокие разболики yempond nacmounty o zacaby Manura Thyx condain - Mh y sum The paydownikot a Germbusen abanmopa nama konsuralb noukodom l Dununcak Trusons - Andpamer bus mango (-unons 6-unons on ymes competon l Hobo-varajom -

1 - unones trypen njæderræum 19 Remaning Kopingea ombeined corracted, 2" unout nongreno Samo contry enne myjerkare kudandobanus o njekparyenus born in a genembri -Andremen seten dynka repour no Sopble coven a trypkann le ruerenne Morax sem - On soper per man proportion, Hobec grajanne unon cobejemento in orno. B 1918 voy on her bring closo, no ne april de la como de la constant de la como de la co mpriznabas nadrumenus. Decamann ven on ben Soprofy e myrkann u, kak butno, ne cruman gus cers ore jamen on men umouneme npedme cantin apoulence are komundetaning Ry Jokoe normenne i rovobb men Burnail: lenepary Hazapveroby. Peneparty Buchunka boundi : lenepary Hazapveroby. Reneparty Populariby - J

APPENDIX J

LETTER OF G. G. YABLOKOFF TO THE AUTHOR OF OCTOBER 12, 1970

12 0 km. 1970 2

0

Doporon Suna,

game on ucarne Cappapatachoro dou, ochobar-

Hoe He nokasanui yracmakob cro.

Onincanne, onte Kancemae, gonspero demit avormontro obsekminotro - norde ono bygem himema yeny romananghazo xapakmepa, He borome, in. c. yeny, c ucomopurerkan mocky spenna becoma ospanirenyo.

Respect boers; Kakolo 3 Hayethe Sul? Kak 3 mo Hu Henpuamto MHE, a npm3 Hato cmu 3 narethe Capogapasagkon apmatickon nosega Ha xug — u Ha ucuog — Bohtet oblino otett He-Benuxo. Ota numis sagepskana, Ha ogur num 96a neceya, mypeykyto oppoparsuly Ha baky. I He uneto ganticis zmodo oyethami, Ha circusko Bpemenin sagapseono mypox compom ubnestus— Bnowne Hengartice — paspos tentas apmanckus .

remen c momenne, korge pyerne bonke spocum apportun u go Bramus mypamu Prekce ugpono. ne. Hu chareko Bpenetiu y Hux om Hane Zepoukas Bayuma apmartemu nogemynol & baky — Ho e gymato — m Horo Sone une. Capagapa Sagurin Son moro bumanus.

Но с точку зрения история вретаного на роде значение Сардарабадского бог огромно. Во-первих, это нарвая — ме каретая
единетвенная — победа арманской армин над
туркату, Конечно, не все турукия чести проинимартие участие в этом бою принадлеграль
к разраду отборны — но это не умалело
нисконено ченность этом первой — и увы последней победи арманской армин над турецкой.
Во-вторы Сардарабодений бой спас существооание арманской гомублики, каковы от не озгла
устовия заключенного зетем мира — даже агм
этот шир был, с точки зрения турецких диплоимамов точки перемирный турецких дипло-

(2)

ea. U 6 Konge Kongel, Capgapadoge Kun Son noz czyskinin 6202 20gez, Heo chopungelin go kezamentom bow specify reemn april en crozo Hapoge.

Prosposio cede percuesamo maso usbem-HAY musog claschully c 7 mm doen. Bekope noch omenignostus higher e Cappapadogeker Allon I will 4 och nygra beim beisbatte k cheminarhoin noeza Komenupe H-Ka baro ombot de gurunce de (3) y que prince forzett. HAIL, M. K. CTHM ance Oghun us opune look Trusko come ubuna k cong ameron more the Ryunas none ren uma se Berunol, n uz rosfe un MAN MARK HARMYMNEHUR BERMY CHARME mips ga to the anexcensponent - Komopera De which forme la presuo ne morm de - e v sene que om smore ropose, He my min coody chure my peyror aprine, genembolabmen use -me Ppenene Kapa. KHUHCEL. Much dein crus unmapacon, no Rog - 4 geste en. S. He nerog - Been Kommanun. Ho

on mode dan a overs backopenhirm, lin agun us Hac -openepol -opposimobukol; Ha cris Goz-nospenkin comakuma Thabatte des con ug-Hero mpukpamus. Much nonk Beknnohe nphbegen & roman Hetter He down, in Cappapa fogorous aprilities no roge comanace no dogon dums nokamadow 311958442.

lmo Kargeman ramaro Cappapadogaroso dose - no xuga - mo I matto gesaro pesenone mestery repenumenteprenen del u comontrole Huen c makhun ansony mypource ompresa he laccomax & celepy on cere a cinauyun capogap-

приничерни бог - занети стенции - бым деном гл. об. 520 /3 u nogras x 64 coman - Sam genon, 21. od. 50 (3) house (& Harero He 34900 0 goumbus raemen namero brigaspegge ompege 1 3mo spens. Mypk atown co many 44 livemy dy dod 4 ocm q 466 40401 moreke y nogyostere Cappapapagakus bricom. Izece on n ing uppernu reprenegosasue un apmeteru etema (pome my moun komengolennen a demanton, anegolebra un je Hen, nog Komengo fenun novskob-Huke Cepkarrette (?). Nousegobalmer samon ammare Срманской каваперии устего не имена , т к. гранана

ogo wyep konangolebunhy kohheim ompegom Hazan ammaky geneko esagu, Inamenymou Beima apmaneku nepegobet tocomu Hacimonika omob-benuch om apmanki kuk anabhik amni Hacimonika omob-mang chehuny kuk anabhik amni mpagom mpunen eu ze mypenkut taanu h hayenun chon ammaky ho huk. Myn-ku zagepoiky Hamara Haciny northuz uenousozoba-am zmodii yanu nmz-zharum ensho-odopony Capgapam zmodii yanu nmz-zharum ensho-odopony Capgapam zmodii yanu nmz-zharum ensho-odopony Capgapam amodii yanu nmz-zharum ensho-odopony Capgapam zmodii yanu nmz-zharum ensho-odopony Capgapam zmodii yanu nmz-zharum ensho-odopony Capgapam zmodii yanu nmazahuz mooja nog benna mog-unan haci sapas hedomopoe b penna omo-unan, u hanu znab here anno, u znab here anno-unan u haci afaa.

В битве за Сардар гоские висьты, мне кажетса, поворотным событием била аттака конииим турецких армен под командования тура арменина, которого я фамилино забыл (Вы тне и писами, но я вышего теста найти и мо-

Been usbeemno, Koherno, zmo mu mypox nacy nodegn he hpecnegolann. Kakoho dono odnje nenospedne, u mornu un ma uj njoernegobemon e cygumb he mory. Doporan Ima, & Ho zhano san Hmapacyem un bar more gruhyof nyeno Max unu whare, chugahue a non Berunoben, nonucamu He-ygarhan ammaku kouhuya na mypeyani ompag sam um aburun nogemynin k capgapadog-exun bu wmam — это показания учистика боев и огевидуа. Сто они спасат — судине на мне.

I sen by no repestationy: namy rebon pyron a xosty e nankon. Ean the dygem gebano beaut goninapa, anory Menoni go Kotus Moux quen chabunmenito anory

Capana -

2. Itoroxob,

APPENDIX: K

TABLE OF ARMY RANKS

American/British Army	Russian Army	Armenian Army
General	General	Zoravar
Lieutenant-General	General-Leitenant	Zorabanaki-Zoravar
Major-General	General-Maior	Der-Zoravar
Colonel	Polkovnik	Gndapet
Lieutenant-Colonel	Podpolkovnik	Pox Gndapet
Captain	Kapitan (Rotmeister)	Hariurapet
Captain 2nd grade	Shtabs-Kapitan	Pox Hariurapet
Lieutenant	Poruchik	Telakal
2nd Lieutenant	Praporshchik (Kornet)	Pox Tełakal
Officer	Ofitser	Spa
Noncommissioned officer	Unter-Ofitser	Yenta Spa
Sergeant	Serzhant	Ksanapet
Bombardier	Bombardir	Rmabarku
Soldier, G/I, private	Soldat, riadovoi	Zinvor

APPENDIX: L

GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES MODIFIED SINCE 1918

As known in 1918	Description	Current name
Akhty	Town between Erevan and Sevan	Razdan
Alageuz	Highest mountain in Arm. S.S.R.	Aragats
Alashkert	Turkish border town	Eleskirt
Alexandropol	Second largest city in Arm. S.S.R.	Leninakan
Arpa-Chai	Tributary of Araks	Arpa
Bashabaran	Town between Ashtarak and Spitak	Aparan
Constantinople	Former capital of Turkey	Istanbul
Delijan	Mountain resort in Arm. S.S.R.	Dilizhan
Djulfa	Town on the Iranian frontier	Jolfa (Dzhul'fa)
Elizavetpol	Ganzak in antiquity	Kirovabad
Erzindjan	Turkish provincial capital	Erzinean
Erivan	Capital of Arm. S.S.R.	Erevan ¹
Erzerum	Karin in Armenian	Erzurum
Kamarlu	Center of wine industry	Artashat
Karaklis	Third largest city in Arm. S.S.R.	Kirovakan
Lake Gokcha	Azerbaidjanian name used in Russia	Lake Sevan
Lake Urmia	Largest lake in Iran	Daryache-ye Rezaiyeh
Lake Van	Largest lake in Turkey	Van Gölü
Nikitino	Molokan village near Dilizhan	Gamzachiman
Nor Nakhichevan	Absorbed by Rostov-on-Don	Rostov-on-Don
Novyi Baiazet	County seat in the Erivan Province	Kamo
Persia	Renamed in 1935	Iran
Petrograd	St. Petersburg till 1914. Present name was adopted on January 26, 1924	Leningrad
Sardarabad	Railroad station of Sardarabad	Oktemberyan
Sardarabad	Village located 40.10N - 44.00E	unchanged
Semenovka	Molokan settlement near Lake Sevan	Tsoviuk
Tiflis	Capital of Transcaucasia, now of Georgian S.S.R.	Tbilisi
Vagarshapat	Village next to the monastery	Echmiadzin
Zanga	River flowing from Lake Sevan	Razdan

¹ This study used the new spelling when it refers to the city after 1923.

APPENDIX: M

METHOD OF TRANSLITERATION

The system adopted by the Library of Congress for transliteration of Armenian and Russian words and names was followed in this study whenever it was practical to do so. However, in many cases the historical spelling was preserved as in the following names:

Chnéour His Alsatian ancestors spelled the family name in the French way

(pronounced *Shné-ur*); *Koulébiakine* The French spelling was maintained for uniformity's sake;

Tchalkhouchian His book published in Paris during the Versailles Conference

carried this spelling.

Many Armenian names were transliterated in this study from the Russian texts and therefore do not correspond with those transliterated directly from Armenian. The matter is complicated still further by the fact, that the main European libraries adopted different methods of transliteration; the following three methods are employed by them:

- (1) Hubschmann-Meillet;
- (2) La Revue des études arméniennes N.S. 5 (1968);
- (3) Istituto di Umanistica della Faculta di Architettura Politechnico di Milano.

In 1965, the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency published a pamphlet entitled Armenian Personal Names, a copy of which can be found in the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. This pamphlet gives various transliterations of the most common names (given and family).

In the pre-revolutionary days the Russian authorities russified the Armenian names and usually spelled them in French with double f at the end instead of a v. The traditional spelling has been preserved when a name was more renowned.

Abastuman, 79	Ani (station), 16, 27, 40, 46
Abatsiev, Gen., 26 n. 22	Ankara, 26 n. 21
Abovian, Kh., 49 n. 7, 62	Arakelian, H. V., 50 n. 9, 52 nn. 15 and
Abovian (street), see Astafievskaia	19
Academy of Sciences of Armenian S.S.R.,	Araks (river), 15, 19 and n. 21, 22, 41-42,
27 n. 26, 63 n. 9, 74 n. 13	47, 56
Adoian, A., see Gorky, A.	Araks (station), 16, 22, 33-34, 41-42
Aharonian, A., 66	Aram Pasha, 29, 53, 65
Aharonian, V., 14 n. 9	Ararat (Mount), 62
Akhalkalaki, 27	Ararat, plain of, 15
Akhaltsikh, 39 n. 18	Ararat, valley of, 56
Akhty, 22	Araratoff, K. (Araratian), 16 and n. 13,
Akhverdoff, I. V., 73 and n. 10	52-53, 72
Alageuz (mountain), 22, 41, 43	Arasheeff, Gen., 73
Alageuz (station), 22, 24, 33, 40	Archangelsk, 18 n. 19
Alashkert Valley, 15, 20	Ardakhan, 36 n. 10, 72
Albanian, 14 n. 5	Argutinskii, Col., 41 n. 23
Albatross, 51 n. 13	Arhanstian, H., 14 n. 9
Alexandropol, 14-16, 20, 22, 24, 27, 46,	Armavir, 32, 74 and n. 12
47 and n. 2, 50, 54, 57, 65, 73, 75	Armenia, 7, 34, 37, 39, 52, 54, 58, 75 n. 14
n. 14, 78, 80	Armenian(s), 13 and n. 1, 14 n. 9, 15,
Alexandropol Peace Conference, 34	16 nn. 11-12, 21-23, 26 n. 22, 27-29,
Alexandrovskoie Voenoe Uchilishche, 33	29 n. 31, 30, 32 and n. 1, 33 n. 7, 34-40,
Ali Kochak, 22	42-43, 45-46, 49, 52, 54, 57, 58 and
All Union Ministry of Defense, 39	n. 5, 60, 62, 66, 69-72, 73 and n. 11,
Allen, W. E. D., 19 n. 20, 25 and nn. 19-	74 and n. 13, 75 and n. 14, 76 and
20, 26 and n. 22, 27-28, 80	n. 18, 78-80
Allies (Western), 21 n. 5, 51 n. 13	Army, 13 n. 1, 51 n. 13
(Coalition), 77 n. 19	Artillery Brigade (2nd), 16, 21, 32, 53
Alsace, 36 n. 10	bandits, 55
Amazasp, 46	Command, 18, 34
American (libraries), 61 n. 2	Church, 29, 53 n. 23, 65 n. 17
(painter), 20 n. 1	Communist Party, 63 and n. 9
(pilots), 48	Corps, 13 n. 1, 14, 26, 30, 34, 41, 70,
Amikharian, Sh. M., 52 n. 20	72, 75 and n. 16, 76
Amurian, A., 40 n. 21, 63-65	customs, 29
Anatolia, 13, 30, 63, 74	forces (troops, battalions), 7, 22, 24-25,
Andranik, 14 and n. 9, 27, 53, 71-72	33, 35, 37, 43, 45, 56-58

government, 22, 24, 37, 51, 66 Batum Conference, 15, 39, 54 National Committee(s), 32 n. 1, 75 Batum Treaty, 39, 79 National Council, 39-40, 58, 64, 71, Bayandur (station), 40 73, 75 n. 14, 79 Bebutovskaia (street), 52 n. 20 Peace Delegation, 23-25, 39, 54, 58, 64 Bechhoffer, C. E., 72 n. 8 Republic, 39 Bek Hassan, see Pashaian, H. Saga, 77 Bek Pirumov, see Pirumov S.S.R., 59 n. 7, 63 n. 9 Bekzadian, A., 75 n. 14 Theological Seminary, 30, 42 Belgian Congo, 45 volunteer(s), 13, 35, 46, 62, 75, 80 Belgian War College, 34, 45 Zeiva, see Zeiva Beograd, 40 Armenian Cavalry Brigade, 23 n. 9, 54 Berberova, N., 25 n. 18 Armenian Cavalry Regiment (1st), 54 Berlin, 14 n. 7 Armenian Cavalry Regiment (2nd), 48 Berna, 17 Armenian Infantry Division (1st and Bierman, B., 77 n. 20 2nd), 29, 41 and n. 24, 59, 64 Bishop, see, srbazan Armenian Rifle Regiment (3rd), 16 Bitlis, 46, 69 n. 1 Armenian Rifle Regiment (4th), 18, 48, Black Sea, 53-54, 76 53, 57 Bogutlu (station), 57 Armenian Rifle Regiment (5th), 16, 18, Bolshaia Sadovaia (street), 71 n. 7 33-35, 45, 48, 52, 57, 59 n. 6 Bolshevik, 58 Bor'ba (newspaper), 61 n. 2 Armenian Rifle Regiment (6th), 15, 18, Borzhom, 27, 79 53, 57 Armeno-Georgian War (1918), 39, 40 Boston, 14, n. 9, 28, 29 n. 33, 45-46, 48-49, 53, 64 Armeno-Turkish War, 23, 25 n. 17, 36, 51 Artillery Academy, 36 Boston hospital, 53 Ashtarak, 15, 16, 22, 28, 56 Brest Litovsk, 32 askers, 28, 57 Brest Litovsk Treaty, 14, 63 n. 11 British Army, 13 n. 1 Astafievskaia (street), 20, 62 Astoria (restaurant), 32 n. 1 British Military Mission, 58 Astrakhan, 32 n. 1 Brooks, R. A., 80 n. 7 Astuatsurian, A., 65 and n. 19, 66 Brussels, 34 Ashxatank' (newspaper), 21 and n. 3 Bukhara, 14 n. 7 Atanesian, S., 53 n. 21 Bulgaria, 26 Bulletin, 58, 59 and n. 8 Atlas of Armenian S.S.R., 63 n. 9, 74 n. 13 Avalishvili, Z. (Avaloff), 74 n. 12 Butyrki, 23 and n. 8, 73 n. 10 Azerbaidjan, 29, 75, n. 14 Azerbaidjanian(s), 16, 29 n. 31, 61, 72 California(n), 14 n. 9, 26 and n. 21, 36, 40, 64 Babakhanian, A., see Leo Catholicos, 15, 29, 52, 53 and n. 22, 65 Bagneux, 26 n. 23 of Cilicia, 52 n. 16 Bagramian, I. Kh., 14 n. 9, 54-55 Cavit Bey, 15, 29, 56-57 Caucasus, 15, 16 n. 13, 49 n. 8, 61, n. 6 Bagratuni, Ia. G., 73 and n. 9 Bakinskii Infantry Regiment (153rd), 16 Caucasian, 49 Baku, 23 n. 9, 58, 61, 71 Army, 13 n. 4, 16 n. 12, 23 and n. 10, Baldwin, O. R., 52 nn. 14 and 19 70, 73 n. 11, 74 Balidze, E., 26 n. 23 Division, see Turkish Division (Cau-Balkans, 45 casian) Baratoff, N. N., 26 and n. 23 front, 13, 33, 36, 49, 61 and n. 5, 69 Bashabaran (Bash Abaran, Bash-Abaand n. 1, 74 ran), 15, 22-23, 29, 36, 48, 69, 78 Central Post and Telegraph Office, 32 n. 1 Bastia, 33 n. 7 Chakhatouni, see Shakhatuni Batum, 15, 27, 32, 39, 58, 75 n. 14, 78 79 Chalokian, G. Kh., 53 n. 21

Chardigny, P., 27 Checheno-Lezghian, 29 and n. 30 Cherokhchian, G., see, srbazan Guevork, Guevork VI Chistye Prudy (district), 52 Chnéour, A. K., 17 and n. 17, 18, 36 and n. 10, 37 and nn. 13-14, 38-44, 45 and n. 27, 47 n. 1, 51, 57, 64 and n. 16, 72 Chnéour, N. K., 36 n. 10 Chnéour, V. K., see Schneur, V. K. Christian era, 15 Christianity, 29 Christophe, R., 77 n. 19 Chubarian, E., 32 n. 1 Churchill, W. S., 75 Commissar for Military and Naval	England, 27 n. 26, 73 n. 9 Enver Pasha, 14 and n. 7 Erevan, 16 n. 11, 18 n. 18, 25 n. 17, 27 n. 26, 28, 51, 52 n. 20, 54 and n. 24, 61 and n. 3, 63 and n. 9, 64 Erevan State Library, 21 n. 3 Erevan State University, 61 Erivan, 7, 15, 16 n. 14, 20 and n. 2, 21-22, 25, 32, 40-42, 46, 49 and n. 7, 50-51 and n. 13, 52 and n. 20, 56-57, 61-62, 64-66, 69-70, 76, 79 Province of, 15, 75 n. 14 region of, 16, 27, 29-30, 58, 66, 71 sector (zone, triangle, approaches of), 15, 22, 24, 26-27, 53-54, 57-58, 69, 74, 79-80 valley, 41
Affairs, 23 n. 9	Erivan Infantry Regiment, 59
Commissariat, see People's Commissariat Communists, 63	Erivanskaia Gubernia, see Erivan (Province of)
Constantinople, 14 n. 7	Ertoba (newspaper), 61 n. 2
Corsica, 33 n. 7	Erzerum, 16, 36, 52, 70 n. 4, 72
Crimea, 14 n. 7	Erzinjan, 46
	Erzinjan Cavalry Regiment, 19, 37, 44,
Dacier, A., 7 n. 1	46, 48
Dalan Gez, 16-17, 73	Esat Pasha, 14 n. 5
Dali Gaso, 48	Europe, 77
Danton, G. J., 77 n. 19	E-h
Delijan, 15, 19, 21, 55, 79	February Revolution (1917), 69, 75
Denikin, A. I., 13 n. 2, 26 and n. 23, 37 De Nork, B. V. E., 21 n. 5, 54, 55 n. 27	Fénelon, F. de S. de la Motte, 7 and n. 1 First World War, 49
Dilman, 26	France, 26 nn. 23 and 25, 49 n. 7, 50,
Djulfa, 15-16	63 and n. 12, 77
Dolan Gèré, see Dalan Gez	French, 16 n. 15, 21 n. 5, 34, 49, 51 n. 13,
Dolukhanoff, Col., 53	63 and n. 12, 79
Dro (Kanayan), 15 and n. 10, 22, 28-29,	Convention (1793), 63
31, 36, 48-49, 53, 56, 78	daily, 18 n. 19
Duke of Brunswick, 77 n. 19	Military Mission (Attaché), 27, 58
Dumoriez, C. F., 76	President, 50 n. 9
Dupuy, R. E. and T. N., 77 n. 19	Resistance, 63 Revolution, 76
Earle, E. M., 63 n. 10	Fresno, 14 n. 9, 40, 64 n. 16
Echmiadzin, 7, 15-16, 19, 24, 27-30, 32,	
41-42, 65	Gamasoff, K., 73 and n. 10
Echmiadzin cathedral, 30	Gamasoff, V., 73 n. 10
Echmiadzin monastery, 50	Garegin, I., 52 n. 16
Efremoff, V., 13 n. 3	Gargaloeff (Gargaloev), V. A., 32 and
Eghiazaroff, see De Nork, B. V. E.	n. 4, 33
Egikhanian, Kh., 53 n. 21	Gaso Dali, see Dali, Gaso
Elizavetpol (region), 71	Gassapashiantz, see Pashaian, H.
Emin Efendi, 14 n. 5	General Staff Academy, 13 n. 1, 31, 36
Engels, Frederick (street), see Bolshaia	Georgetown University, 78
Sadovaia (street)	Georgia, 25 n. 15

Georgian(s), 29 n. 31, 72, 74, 76	Jews, 63
Army, 26	Journal de Russie (newspaper), 18 n. 19
leaders, 13	Journal of the Armenian Corps, 22, 29,
Mensheviks, 13	47 n. 2, 54, 55 and n. 26, 64, 76
S.S.R., 59 n. 7	
German Allies, 15	Kadetskii Korpus, 29
Army, 14 n. 7	Kadjuni, E., 54
lines, 18 n. 19	Kamarlu, 52
Mission, 51 n. 13	Kanayan, see Dro
Germany, 48	Karabakh, 50, 54
Gevork V, 29	Karabekir, Kazim, 14 n. 6
Gevork VI, 53 and nn. 22-23	Karaburun (station), 22, 24, 33
Godechot, J., 67 n. 25	Karakala, 19, 56
Goethe, 77 and n. 20	Karakhunskia Bolota, 50
Gokcha Lake, see Sevan Lake	Karaklis (Kara Klisseh, Karaklissa),
Gorizont (newspaper), 61 n. 2	14-16, 20, 22-23, 41, 54-55, 57-58,
Gorky, A., 20 n. 1	78-79
Greek, 33 n. 5	Karakanlu (Kara-Konlu, Kurakanlu),
Greek Orthodox, 29	22, 24, 27
Gregorian calendar, 13 n. 1	Karal, E. Z., 26 n. 21
Gresham Law, 70	Kars, 14, 16 n. 12, 17, 23, 26, 33 n. 5,
Grigorian Sh.I., 52 n. 20	36, 46, 51, 54, 57, 65, 71, 73, 75
Gurevich (school), 36	n. 14, 76
	Kartashisheff, Col., 16
Hairenik Amsagir (monthly), 29 n. 33,	Kavkazkoe Slovo (newspaper), 61 n. 2
45 and n. 27, 47, 48 and nn. 3-4,	Kazemzadeh, F., 80 and n. 4
49, 50 and n. 11, 65 n. 20	Kellerman, F. C., 76
Harlan, J. M., 49 n. 5	Kemal Pasha, M., 14 n. 6, 59, 69 n. 1
Hasapashants, see Pashaian H.	kerenki, 70
Hasabbasian, Karo, or Hassan Pashaian,	Kerenskii, A. F., 70 n. 2
see Pashaian H.	Kerpalu, 22, 24, 27, 43
Head of the Church, see Catholicos	Khalmykov, Lt-Col., 32
Helminskii, Capt., 46	Khanzorian, see Yablokoff
Hinis, see Khinis	
Historical Commission, 23 and n. 10, 24,	Kharmandarian, S. V., 63 n. 9 Khatissoff A. I. (Khatissian) 20 40 66
25 and nn. 15-16	Khatissoff, A. I. (Khatissian), 39-40, 66
	and n. 24
Hizan, see Khizan	Khinis (Hinis), 46
House Penert 78 p. 1	Khinis Infantry Regiment, 19, 40, 46
House Report, 78 n. 1	Khizan, 35 and n. 87, 47 n. 1
Hovannisian, R. G., 28-29	Khiznaus, 37-38, 43, 47
Tadin 15 and n 10 10 24 45 56	Kiev Aviation School, 36
Igdir, 15 and n. 10, 19, 24, 45, 56	Kirakossian, J. S., 61-62, 75 n. 14
Imperial Government, 65 n. 17	Klich, 53 n. 21
Infantry Division, see Armenian Infantry	Kolmaniants, Capt., 42-43, 53
Division	Korganoff, A., 23 n. 9
Institute of Communication Engineers, 32	Korganoff, G. G., 23 and n. 9, 24 and
Iran, 45-46	nn. 11-13, 25-27, 30 n. 35, 47 n. 1,
Ireland, 25	59 n. 8, 73
Ismay, Lord, 75 n. 15	Korganoff, G. N., 23 n. 9
Isfahan, see Spaan	Korganoff, N. A., 23 n. 9
Italian(s), 14 n. 5	Korolkov, LtCol., 53 n. 21
Italo-Ethiopian Campaign, 14 n. 5	Kossovskaia, N., 25 n. 19
Izvestia (newspaper), 61 n. 2	Kotayk (Mount), 62 n. 8
	•

Koulébiakine, A. I., 13 n. 2, 23 and n. 10, n. 10, 25 and nn. 15-16 Military Academy, 29 and n. 33, 30, 33-25 and nn. 15-16, 47 n. 1, 70 and nn. 4-5, 76 n. 18 Krylenko, N. V., 18 n. 19 Military Attaché, 13 n. 2, 58 Kuban cossacks, 70 Mineralnye Vody, 23 n. 9 Kurd(s), Kurdish, 15, 40, 44, 59 n. 7, 57 Minister of War, 72 Ministry of War, 64 Kutais, 27 Kutepov, A. P., 24 n. 12 Mkrtchian, A. K., 61 n. 3 Kvinitadze, G. I., 26 and n. 25, 27, 29 Mnatsakanian, A. N., 62 and n. 7 Mogilev, 73 Molkachanoff, comm., 52 Kizyl-Arwat, 23 n. 9 Molokan(s), 33 and n. 6 Lamont Library, 54 n. 24 Morel, GS Col. then Gen., 13 and n. 2, Langues du Monde, Les (publication), 36, 70 n. 4, 72, 76 n. 18 Morgan, W. E. C., 58 n. 3 29 n. 30 Moscow, 23 n. 8, 25, 26 and nn. 21 and Larcher, M., 61 and n. 5, 80 and n. 3 31, 32 and n. 1, 54 n. 25, 62 n. 8, Lebedinskii, E. V., 13 and n. 4, 26 and n. 25 63 n. 9, 64 and n. 15, 71, 74, 75 n. 14, Leib Grenaderskii Erivanskii Polk (13th), 76 n. 17, 80 n. 5 72 Moscow Art Theater, 49 Lenin, V. I., 32 and n. 1, 63 Mshak (newspaper), 61 n. 2 Leo, Prof. (A. Babakhanian), 54 and n. 24 Mudros Armistice, 14 n. 5, 58 Levy, J., 20 n. 1 Muradbekian, K., see, srbazan Khoren Library of Congress, 34 Muradian, S., 32 n. 1 Lisitsyn, L., 25 n. 16 Murat, 48 London, 58, 63 n. 12, 73 n. 9 Muratoff, P. P., 19 n. 20, 25 and nn. 17-Loris-Melikov, M. T., 23 18 and 20, 27, 80 Los Angeles, 36 Mush, 69 n. 1 Ludushveit, E. F., 60 and n. 1 Muslim, 21 Lyon, 31 n. 37, 45 Nakhitchevan (Nakhjevan), 80 Mahtesi-Babaian, Z., see, srbazan Zaven NATO, 80 Maku, 47 Nazarbekoff, F. I. (Nazarbekian), 14 n. 8, 15-16, 19, 21-23, 26-27, 33, 35, Maku Regiment (composite), 47-48 Mamikonian, S., 65 and n. 17 51, 65, 72-73, 78 Manchuria, 70 Nazi, 63 Manukian, see Aram Pasha Near East, 26 Marin, L., 63 n. 12 New York, 20 n. 1, 25 n. 18, 49 n. 6, Markara, 19, 22, 56 52 n. 19, 62 n. 8, 75 n. 15, 77 nn. 19-Marshall, S. L. A., 49 and n. 6, 80 and 20, 80 nn. 4-5 and 8 Nikitino, 15, 69 Maslovskii, E. V., 17 and n. 16, 47 n. 1 Nor Nakhitchevan, 33, 71 Mastara (Mostara), 22, 24, 27 North Africa, 40 Mediterranean, 80 n. 6 North Talin, see Talin Melgunov, S.P., 24 n. 12 Northern Caucasus, 30 Melik Agamalova, N. I., 49 n. 7 Novyi Baiazet, 15, 71 Melikian, H., 28, 45 and n. 27, 46-48, 63 Nukha, 29 n. 31 Merimanoff, Col., 53 Miasnikian, A. F., 21 n. 3 Occidental, 20 Michelet, J., 66 and n. 23 October Revolution (1917), 13, 54, 60, Mikhailovskoe Artilleriiskoe Voennoe U-73-74 chilishche, 36 Okhrana, 18 n. 19 Military Historical Commission, 23 and Ordzhonikidze, G. K., 32 and n. 1

Ossetin(s), 26 nn. 22-23 Ossipov, Col. then Gen., 73 and n. 10 Ottoman, see Turkish	Red Army (Eleventh), 49, 52 and n. 19 Revue des Etudes Arméniennes (publica- tion), 58 n. 2
Ottoman Empire, 59 n. 7	Riazan, 16 n. 11, 73 n. 10
Ozanian, see Andranik	Rostov-on-Don, 32 and n. 1, 51, 71 and
Ovsepian, G., see, srbazan Garegin,	n. 7
Garegin I	Rumanian Army, 16.n. 13
	Russia, 36 n. 10, 52 n. 15
Pan Turanian, 14, 60	Russian(s), 13 n. 1, 25, 26 and n. 23,
Papadjanov, M. I., 25 and n. 14, 70, 76	29 n. 31, 30, 33 n. 6, 36, 45 n. 25,
n. 18	49, 58 nn. 4-5, 60, 65, 71-72, 74 n. 13
Parakar, 16	Army (soldiers), 13 n. 1, 14, 16, 17
Paris, 13 n. 3, 14 n. 9, 21 n. 5, 23 n. 9,	n. 16, 29, 61, 73 and n. 11, 7
34, 49	Empire, 30, 74 and n. 13, 75
Partisan Cavalry Regiment, 48	frontier, 13, 46
Partisan Regiment (1st), 48	officer(s), 13, 46, 58, 70
Pashaian, H., 19, 36, 37 and n. 11, 38,	Russkaya Misl (newspaper), 24 n. 12
39 and nn. 18-19, 43-49	Russo-Japanese War, 72
Peace Conference, see Batum Con-	Table oupurous mais 12
ference	Safrastian, A., 27 and n. 26
People's Commissar for Affairs of	St. Gayanē (church), 15, 52
Nationalities, 32	St. George (decoration), 14 n. 8, 23 n. 9,
People's Commissariat for Affairs of	27 n. 25, 33 n. 5, 36 n. 10
Nationalities, 75 n. 14	St. Petersburg, 36
Père-Lachaise, 14 n. 9, 23 n. 9	St. Hrip'simē (church), 15
Perekriostovyi, Col., 53 n. 21	Sakelary (Sakeliary, Sakelian), Capt., 33
Persia, 26 n. 23, 46, 49, 76	and n. 5, 52 and n. 20, 53 n. 21, 62
Persian Azerbaidjan, 14 n. 6	Salibekoff, Col. 18, 38, 41, 53
fortress, 16	Salmaslian, A., 27 n. 26
frontier, 16	Saloniki, 51 n. 13
Petain, Ph., 63 n. 12	Sarykamysh, 24, 54, 70 n. 4
Petrograd, 13 n. 1, 18 and n. 19, 31, 32	Sardarabad, 20-24, 27-29, 33, 37, 39, 41,
n. 1, 36, 73, 75	45, 48, 50, 52, 54, 57-58, 62, 69, 73,
Pirumov (Pirumian), Bek, Daniil, 16 and	78 - 79-
n. 14, 19 n. 21, 27-28, 37-38, 39 n. 20,	Battle of, 19-20, 22-23, 28, 34, 47, 50,
42-43, 47-48, 51, 52 and n. 18, 56,	53, 56-57, 66, 69, 75, 77-80
61, 64, 73	Plain of, 43, 51, 56, 78
Pirumov (Pirumian), Bek, Iosif, 16 n. 14	(area, sector, zone), 22, 28
Pirumov (Pirumian), Bek, Pavel, 16 and	(station), 16, 18, 34, 37, 41-43, 65
n. 14, 27, 33-35, 41-42, 47, 52	(village), 16, 41
Poidebard, A., 58 and n. 2	Sargsean, see Sarkissian, E. K.
Poland, 36	Sarian, M. S., 62 and n. 8
Polish, 46	Sarkissian, Col., 45
Portsmouth Treaty, 72	Sarkissian, E. K., 60
Poti, 27	Sarkisov (restaurateur), 32 n. 1
Przhevalskii, Gen., 13 n. 4	Schneur, V. K., 18 and n. 19, 36 n. 10
President of the Armenian Republic, 39	Second World War, 25, 52
Pritomanoff, GS Col., 31 and n. 37	Seim, 26-27 n. 25
Provisional Government, 70 n. 2, 73, 75	Semenovka, 22
Public Works Department, 45	Sevan, Lake, 15, 20, 41, 49 n.;
	Sevki Pasha, Y., 14 and n. 6
Ras Desta, 14 n. 5	Shaginian, M., 54 and n. 25
Rassalimov, Prof., 23	Shakhatuni, A. V., 29 and n. 33, 49 and

nn. 7-8, 50 and nn. 9-11, 65 and n. 20 Shelkovnikoff, Gen. 73 and n. 10 Siberia, 74 Siberian Riffle Division, 33 Sikorskaia, E. M., 18 n. 18 Silikoff, M. (Silikian), 16 and nn. 11-12, 19, 22, 24, 27-28, 29 and n. 32, 30, 37, 39 n. 20, 41 and n. 23, 42-43, 48, 50-51, 56-57, 66, 75, 78 Silin, Col., 53 n. 21 Simeonian, Arshaluis, 45 n. 27, 48 n. 3 Smbat, 48 Sobornyi Pereulok (street), 32 n. 1 Soglasiye (periodical), 36-37, 39 and nn. 19-20, 40 Solovki, 18 n. 19 Soviet Armenia (periodical), 62 Commander (general), 49 n. 8, 52, 53 n. 21 Government (authorities), 53 n. 23, 74 historians, 60, 80 policy, 61 n. 6	Tiflis, 14, 20, 21 n. 4, 23, 25 n. 14, 26-27, 32, 39, 47, 61, 71-72, 73 and n. 10, 74 and n. 12, 76, 79 Tifliskii Listok, (newspaper), 61 n. 2 Tigranoff, L. F., 73 and n. 9 Tilly, Ch., 67 n. 25 Times, The (newspaper), 73 n. 9 Tokyo, 13 n. 2 Trabezond, 54 Transcaucasia(n), 13 n. 1, 20, 26 n. 25, 27-28, 32, 33 n. 6, 61, 62 n. 7, 72, 74 and n. 13 Government, 13, 23 forces, 26 troubles, 60 Trotski, L., 18 n. 19 Troubetzkoy, N. S., 29 n. 30 Tuapse, 32 Tunisia, 45 Turkey, 60, 75 n. 14, 80 Turkish, 15, 24, 28 n. 28, 34-35, 36 n. 10, 38, 39 n. 18, 41, 43, 45, 47, 57, 60-62, 72
representative, 58	Armenian(s), 35, 45
rule, 62 n. 7 Union, 60	archives (files), 26 and n. 21 Army, 13, 39, 57, 79
Spaan, 46, 49	Brigade, 24
Spanish exiles, 63	Command (General Staff), 14, 27, 56-
Special Cavalry Regiment, 48	57, 73
srbazan Garegin, 50, 52	Commander in Chief, 14
srbazan Guevork, 50, 53 and n. 22	emissaries, 16
srbazan Khoren, 50	forces (troops, infantrymen, reserves),
srbazan Tirair, 50	7, 14, 22, 24, 27-28, 37 and n. 13,
srbazan Zaven, 50	45, 48, 57, 61 and n. 5, 79
Stalin, I. V., 32	front, 17, 35
Stanford, 26 and n. 21	officer(s), 22, 26, 57
Stanislavsky, K., 49	Regiment (108th), 22
Stavka, 73, 75	War (1877-1878), 70, 72 Turkish Division (3rd) 15, 22, 24, 28
Stavropol, 32 n. 1 Stavrovskii, A., 52 n. 19	Turkish Division (3rd), 15, 22, 24, 28, 56, 69
Supreme Command, see, Stavka	Turkish Division (5th Caucasian), 14, 24
Svartsian, see Amazasp	Turkish Division (9th Caucasian), 14, 24 Turkish Division (11th Caucasian), 15,
Talin, 22, 24	24, 27, 56
TASS, 61	Turkish Division (12th Infantry), 15, 19,
Tatar(s), 75 n. 14, 76 n. 18	56
Tbilisi, 14 n. 8, 54 n. 24	Turkish Division (36th Caucasian), 14, 24
Tchalkhouchian, G., 71, 79 and n. 2	Turks, 13-15, 20, 22, 24, 27, 30, 35-36,
Tcharukchev, Col., 53	38-39, 41-45, 47, 51, 55, 57, 69-70,
Ter Akopoff, Gen., 73	78-80 Turshian A. G. 25 n. 17, 29 and n. 34
Ter Gukasoff, A. A., 23 Ter Hovannesian, see, srbazan Tirair	Turshian, A. G., 25 n. 17, 29 and n. 34, 39 n. 18, 49-50, 51 and n. 12, 53
Third Armenian Volunteer Battalion, 46	n. 21, 65 and n. 20, 66
The remaining relation buttonell, To	11. 21, 00 und 11. 20, 00

Udi (Udiny, Udintsy), 29 and n. 31 Udic, 29 and nn. 30-31 Ukraine, 13 n. 2 Ulam, A. B., 80 n. 5 Underground, 63 Union Calendar, 78 n. 1 University of Ankara, 26 n. 21 University of Moscow, 33, 60 University of Toronto, 67 n. 25 University of Toulouse, 67 n. 25 Urmia, Lake, 16, 72 U.S. Congress, 78 and n. 1 U.S. Supreme Court, 49 n. 5 U.S.S.R., 29 n. 31, 52 n. 15, 59 n. 7

Vagarshapat, see Echmiadzin Valmy, 76, 77 n. 19 Vartashen, 29 Van, Lake, 16, 72 refugees, 20 and n. 1, 21 region, 20, 23 n. 10 volunteers, 15, 50 Van Regiments (1st and 2nd), 19, 22, 48, 53, 56 Vehip Pasha, F. M., 14 and n. 5 Vekhilov (Vekhilian), Col. of Artillery, 16 n. 12 Vekhilov (Vekhilian), Col. of Cavalry, 16 n. 12 Vekhilov (Vekhilian), Col. of GS, 16 and n. 12, 42, 48, 52, 57 Versailles Conference, 23

Vestnik (publication), 61 n. 4 Voltaire. 80 n. 7 Voprosy Istorii (periodical), 80 n. 5 Vratsian, S., 66 and n. 24 Vyshinskii, Gen. 21 and n. 4, 27, 72

War Office, 58 West European libraries, 61 n. 2 Western front, 73 n. 11 Weygand, M., 77 n. 19 Whitechurch House, 25

Yablokoff, A. G., 33 and n. 7 Yablokoff, G. G., 28, 33-34, 35 n. 9, 36, 39, 45 and n. 27, 57 and n. 1 Yanina, 14 n. 5 Yezidi(s), 59 n. 7 unit, 59 Yugoslavia, 26 n. 24, 63, 66

Zakon Bozhyi, 29
Zangibazar, 21, 62
Zangezur, 16 n. 11
Zeitun Cavalry Regiment, 18, 38, 41, 48, 53
Zeiva, 22, 24, 27
Zhizn' Natsionalnostei, 75 n. 14
Zinkevich, M. M., 26 and n. 24
Zorian, K., see Yablokoff, G. G.
Zoroaster, 59 n. 7
Zvereff, representative, 58